

July, 1918

No.

The Psychoanalytic Review

A Journal Devoted to an
Understanding of Human Conduct

EDITED AND MANAGED BY

JOSEPH W. HILL, M.D., and SMITH ELY JELLIFFE

CONTENTS

Editorial Note

On the Pathology of the Mind. JAMES C. HARRIS

On the Pathology of the Mind. THEODORE SPRINGER

On the Pathology of the Mind. SMITH ELY JELLIFFE

On the Pathology of the Mind. OTTO RANK AND

OTTO RANK AND

On the Pathology of the Mind. FRANK RANK

On the Pathology of the Mind. FRANK RANK

Subscription Price: \$5.00 per Volume

Single Numbers, \$1.50

COPYRIGHT 1918

Published by the American Psychological Association and the American Medical Association

1000 GREEN STREET, LANCASTER, PA.

W. 1000 STREET, NEW YORK

Entered as Second-Class Matter, October 25, 1911, at the Post Office at Lancaster, Pa., under No. 1000, and accepted for mailing at special rate of postage provided for in Act of October 3, 1917.

Journal of Nervous and Mental Disease Monograph Series

Edited by

WILLIAM HENRY JELLIFFE, M.D.

WILLIAM A. WHITE, M.D.

No. 1. The Principles of Psychiatry. (Fourth Edition, 1913.) By WM. A. WHITE, M.D.

A clear, concise, and well concise presentation of psychiatry, especially adapted for use in lectures and in public institutions for mental diseases.

No. 2. General Principles of Psychosis and Other Psychoneuroses. (Second Edition, 1913.) By PROF. SIGMUND FREUD, M.D., Price \$2.50.

A selection of some of the more important of Freud's writings.

No. 3. The Principles of Investigation in Psychiatry. By FELIX PLAUT, M.D.

A clear, concise, and well concise presentation of the principles of the Wundtian Reaction, especially adapted for use of the investigator in this field, especially adapted for laboratory and hospital investigations.

No. 4. The Principles of Psychological Theory. By PROF. SIGMUND FREUD, M.D.

A clear, concise, and well concise presentation to the psychology of psychosexual development.

No. 5. The Principles of the New York Psychiatric Society. (Illustrated.)

A series of lectures on different psychiatric subjects, written by Members of the New York Psychiatric Society.

No. 6. The Principles of Schizoid Negativism. By PROF. E. BLEULER, M.D.

A clear, concise, and well concise presentation of scientific thinking as applied to the

(See back cover page.)

THE PSYCHOANALYTIC REVIEW

A JOURNAL DEVOTED TO AN
UNDERSTANDING OF HUMAN CONDUCT

VOLUME II

JULY, 1915

NUMBER 3

ORIGINAL ARTICLES

PSYCHOANALYSIS¹

BY C. G. JUNG

OF ZURICH

Psychoanalysis is not only scientific, but also technical in character; and from results technical in their nature there has been developed a new psychological science which might be called "analytical psychology."

Psychologists and doctors in general are by no means conversant with this particular branch of psychology, owing to the fact that its technical foundations are as yet comparatively unknown to them. The reason for this may be found in part in the fact that the new method is exquisitely psychological, and therefore belongs neither to the realm of medicine nor to that of experimental psychology. The medical man has, as a rule, but little knowledge of psychology; and the psychologist has no medical knowledge. Therefore there is an entire lack of suitable soil in which to plant the spirit of this new method. Furthermore, the method itself seems to many persons so arbitrary that they apparently cannot reconcile it with their scientific conscience. The fact, too, that the conceptions of Freud, the founder of this method, laid particular stress upon the sexual moment has aroused a strong prejudice; and it is true that many scientific men are repelled merely by this feeling. I need hardly remark

¹ Read before the Psycho-Medical Society, London, August 5, 1913.

that such an antipathy is not a logical ground for rejecting a new method.

These being the facts in the case, it is obvious that the psychoanalyst should discuss the principles, and not the results, of his method when he speaks in public; for he who does not acknowledge the scientific character of the method cannot acknowledge the scientific character of its results.

Before, however, I enter into the principles of the psychoanalytic method, I must mention two common prejudices against it. The first of these is that psychoanalysis is nothing but a somewhat deep and complicated form of anamnesis. Now it is well known that the anamnesis is based upon the evidence of the patient's family and upon his own conscious self-knowledge in reply to direct questions. The psychoanalyst naturally develops his anamnestic data as carefully as any other specialist; but this is merely the patient's history, not analysis. Analysis is the reduction of an actual conscious content of a so-called accidental nature into its psychological determinants. This process, however, has nothing to do with the anamnestic reconstruction of the history of the illness.

The second prejudice, which is based, as a rule, upon a superficial knowledge of psychoanalytic literature, is that psychoanalysis is a suggestion method, by which a faith or doctrine of living is imposed upon the patient, thereby effecting a cure in the manner of mental healing or Christian Science. Many psychoanalysts, especially those who have worked in psychoanalysis for a long time, have formerly used therapeutic suggestion, and are therefore familiar with its workings. They know that the psychoanalyst's method of working is diametrically opposed to that of the hypnotizer. In direct contrast to therapeutic suggestion, the psychoanalyst attempts to force nothing upon his patient which the latter does not see in himself, and with his own understanding find reasonable. Faced with the constant desire of the neurotic patient to receive suggestions and advice, the psychoanalyst just as constantly endeavors to lead him away from this passive receptive attitude, and to make him use his common sense and powers of criticism, that he may with these become fitted to meet the problems of life independently. It has often

been said that interpretations were forced upon patients, interpretations that were frequently quite arbitrary. I wish that one of these critics would make the attempt to force such arbitrary interpretations upon my patients, who are often persons of great intelligence and high culture, and who are, indeed, not infrequently my own colleagues. The impossibility of such an undertaking would soon be laid bare. In psychoanalysis we are dependent upon the patient and his judgment to this extent, that the very nature of analysis consists of leading the patient to a knowledge of his own self. The principles of psychoanalysis are so entirely different from those of therapeutic suggestion that we cannot compare the two methods in this respect.

An attempt has also been made to compare analysis with the reasoning method of Dubois, which is in itself a rational process. This comparison does not, however, hold good, for the psychoanalyst strictly avoids argument and persuasion with his patients. He must naturally listen to and take note of the conscious problems and conflicts of his patient, but he must not do this for the purpose of fulfilling the desire of the patient to receive advice and direction in these questions. The problems of a neurotic patient cannot be solved by advice and conscious argument. I do not doubt that good advice at the right time can produce good results; but I do not know whence one can obtain the belief that the psychoanalyst can always give the right advice at the right time. The neurotic conflict is frequently, in fact as a rule, of such a character that one cannot possibly give advice. Furthermore, it is well known that the patient only desires authoritative advice in order that he may cast aside the burden of responsibility, referring himself and others to the opinion of the higher authority.

In direct contrast to all previous methods, psychoanalysis endeavors to overcome the disorders of the neurotic psyche through the sub-conscious, not through the conscious self. In this work we naturally have need of the patient's conscious content, for his sub-consciousness can only be reached in this manner. The conscious content, in which source our work takes its beginning, is in the first instance the material furnished by the anamnesis. In many cases it furnishes welcome clues which

make clear to the patient the psychogenic origin of his symptoms. This work is naturally only necessary when the patient is convinced that his neurosis is organic in its origin. But even in those cases where the patient is convinced from the very first of the psychic nature of his illness, a critical survey of the anamnesis can be nothing but advantageous, disclosing to him, as it does, a psychological concatenation of ideas which he did not possess before. In this manner those problems which need especial discussion are frequently brought to the surface. Work of this kind can occupy many sittings. Finally the explanation of the conscious material reaches an end in as far as neither the patient nor the doctor can add to it anything that is decisive in character. Under the most favorable circumstances the end comes with the formulation of the problem, which proves itself to be impossible of solution. Let us take, for instance, the case of a man who was once well, but who became a neurotic between the ages of 35 and 40. His position in life is assured, and he has a wife and children. Parallel to his neurosis an intense resistance towards his professional work has developed within him. He has observed that the first symptoms of neurosis became noticeable when he had to overcome a certain difficulty in his professional work. Later on his condition became more aggravated with each similar difficulty that arose. Temporary improvements in his neurosis occurred whenever fortune favored him in his professional work. The problem that results from the critical discussion of the anamnesis is as follows:

The patient knows that he could improve his work, and that this would result in that satisfaction, which would bring about the desired betterment in his neurotic condition. He cannot, however, improve upon the efficiency of his work, because his resistance towards that work is too great.

This problem cannot be solved by any reasoning process.

Let us take another case. A woman, more than forty years of age, married, the mother of four children, became ill four years ago after the death of one of her children. A new period of pregnancy, followed by the birth of another child, produced a great improvement of her neurotic condition. The patient now lived in the thought that it would be a great help to her if she

could have still another child. Knowing, however, that this could not happen, she attempted to devote her energies to philanthropic interests. But she failed to obtain the least satisfaction from this work. She observed a distinct alleviation of her complaint whenever she succeeded in giving real, living interest to any matter, but she felt entirely incapable of discovering anything that could bring her lasting interest and satisfaction. It is clear that no process of reasoning can solve this problem.

In this case psychoanalysis must begin with the endeavor to solve the problem as to what prevents the patient from developing interests above and beyond her longing for a child.

Since we cannot assume that we know from the very beginning what the solution of such problems is, we must at this point trust to the clues furnished us by the individuality of the patient. Neither conscious questioning nor rational advice can aid us in the discovery of these clues, for the causes which prevent us from finding them are hidden from her consciousness. There is, therefore, no clearly indicated path by which to reach these subconscious obstacles. The only rule that psychoanalysis lays down in this respect is to let the patient speak of that which occurs to him at the moment. The analyst must observe carefully what the patient says, and in the first instance, take due note thereof without attempting to force his own opinions upon the patient. Thus we observe that the patient whom I first mentioned begins by talking about his marriage, which we hitherto had reason to regard as normal. We now learn that the patient constantly has difficulties with his wife, and that he does not understand her in the least. This knowledge causes the doctor to remark that the patient's life-work is clearly not his only problem; that his marital relations are also in need of revision. In connection with this remark on the part of the doctor many further ideas occur to the patient, all of them concerning his married life. Hereupon follow ideas concerning love affairs that he had before his marriage. These experiences, told in detail, show that the patient was always somewhat peculiar in his more intimate relations with women, and that this peculiarity took the form of a certain childish egoism. This is a new and surprising fact for the patient and explains to him many of his misfortunes with women.

We cannot in every case get as far as this with the simple principle of letting the patient talk, for not many patients have their psychic material so much on the surface. Furthermore, many persons have a positive resistance towards speaking freely; in many cases because it is too painful to tell a doctor, whom they may perhaps not trust entirely, what occurs to them on the spur of the moment; in other cases because apparently nothing occurs to them, and they accordingly force themselves to speak of matters to which they are more or less indifferent. This habit of not talking to the point by no means proves that the patients consciously conceal their unpleasant contents, for such irrelevant speaking can occur quite unconsciously. In such cases it sometimes helps the patient if he is told that he must not force himself, that he must only seize upon the very first thoughts that present themselves, no matter how unimportant or ridiculous they may seem. In certain cases even these instructions are of no use, and then the doctor is obliged to have recourse to other expedients. One of these is the experiment of association, which usually gives excellent information as to the chief momentary tendencies of the individual. So much has been already said and published about this experiment that I do not dare to enter into a further discussion of it here.

A second expedient is dream analysis, the real instrument of psychoanalysis. We have already experienced so much opposition to dream analysis that a brief exposition of its principles seems necessary. The interpretation of dreams, as well as the meaning given to them, is, as we know, in bad odor. It is not long since that oneirocritics were practised and believed in; nor is the time long past when even more or less enlightened human beings were entirely under the ban of superstition. It is therefore comprehensible that our age still has a certain living fear of those superstitions which have but recently been partially overcome. To this timidity in regard to superstition the opposition to dream analysis is in a large degree due; but analysis is in no wise to blame for this. We do not select the dream as our object because we pay it the homage of superstitious admiration, but because it is a psychic product that is independent of the patient's consciousness. We ask for the patient's free thoughts, but he

gives us little, or nothing; or at best something forced or irrelevant. Dreams are free thoughts, free fantasies, they are not forced, and they are psychic phenomena just as much as thoughts are.

It may be said of the dream that it enters into the consciousness as a complex factor, the connection between the elements of which is not conscious. Only by afterwards joining associations to the separate pictures of the dream can the origin of these pictures in certain recollections of the near and more remote past be proved. One asks oneself: "Where have I seen or heard that?" And by the same process of free association comes the recollection that one has actually experienced certain parts of the dream, some of them yesterday, some at an earlier date. This is well known, and every one will probably agree to it. Thus far the dream presents itself, as a rule, as an incomprehensible composition of certain elements which are not in the first instance conscious, but which are later recognized by the process of free association. This might be disputed on the ground that it is an aprioristic statement. I must observe, however, that this conception conforms to the only generally recognized working hypothesis as to the genesis of dreams, namely, the derivation of the dream from experiences and thoughts of the recent past. We are, therefore, upon known ground. Not that certain dream parts have under all circumstances been known to the individual, so that one might ascribe to them the character of being conscious; on the contrary, they are frequently, even generally, unrecognizable. Not until later do we remember having consciously experienced this or that dream part. We may therefore regard the dream from this point of view as a product that comes from a sub-conscious origin. The technical unfolding of these sub-conscious sources is a mode of procedure that has always been instinctively employed. One simply tries to remember whence the dream parts come. Upon this most simple principle the psycho-analytic method of solving dreams is based. It is a fact that certain dream parts are derived from our waking life and, indeed, from experiences which, owing to their notorious lack of importance, would frequently have been consigned to certain oblivion, and were therefore well on their way towards becoming

definitely sub-conscious. Such dream parts are the results of sub-conscious representations (images).

The principles according to which psychoanalysis solves dreams are therefore exceedingly simple, and have really been known for a long time. The further procedure follows the same path logically and consistently. If one spends considerable time over a dream, which really never happens outside of psychoanalysis, one can succeed in finding more and more recollections for the separate dream parts. It is, however, not always possible to discover recollections for certain other parts; and then one must leave them for the time being, whether one likes it or not. When I speak of "recollections" I naturally do not mean merely memories of certain concrete experiences, but also of their inter-related meanings. The collected recollections are known as the dream material. With this material one proceeds according to a scientific method that is universally valid. If one has any experimental material to work up, one compares its separate parts and arranges them according to their similarities. Exactly the same course is pursued in dealing with the dream material; one gathers together its common characteristics, whether these be formal or material. In doing this one must get absolutely rid of certain prejudices. I have always observed that the beginner expects to find some tendency or other according to which he endeavors to mould his material. I have noticed this particularly in the cases of colleagues who were previously more or less violent opponents of psychoanalysis, owing to their well-known prejudices and misunderstandings. When fate willed that I should analyse them, and they consequently gained at last an insight into the methods of analysis, it was demonstrated that the first mistake which they had been apt to make in their own psychoanalytic practice was that they forced the material into accord with their own preconceived opinions; that is, they allowed their former attitude towards psychoanalysis, which they were not able to appreciate objectively, but only according to subjective phantasies, to have its influence upon their material. If one goes so far as to venture upon the task of examining the dream material, one must permit no comparison to frighten one away. The material consists, as a general rule, of very unequal

images, from which it is under some circumstances most difficult to obtain the "*tertium comparationis*." I must forego giving you detailed examples of this, since it is quite impossible to introduce material so extensive into a lecture.

One pursues, then, the same method in classifying the sub-conscious content as is used everywhere in comparing materials for the purpose of drawing conclusions from them. One objection has often been made, namely: why should the dream have a sub-conscious content at all? This objection is unscientific in my opinion. Every psychological moment has its own history. Every sentence that I utter has, besides the meaning consciously intended by me, a meaning that is historical; and this last can be entirely different from the conscious meaning. I am purposely expressing myself somewhat paradoxically. I certainly should not take it upon myself to explain each sentence according to its individual-historical meaning. That is easier in the case of larger and more complex formations. Everyone is certainly convinced of the fact that a poem—in addition to its manifest contents—is also particularly characteristic of its author in its form, subject-matter, and the history of its origin. Whereas the poet gave skillful expression to a fleeting mood in his song, the historian of literature sees in it and beyond it things which the poet would never have suspected. The analysis that the literary critic makes of the subject-matter furnished by the poet may be compared with psychoanalysis in its method, even to the very errors which occur therein. The psychoanalytic method may be particularly compared with historical analysis and synthesis. Let us assume, for instance, that we do not understand the meaning of the rite of baptism as it is practised in our churches today. The priest tells us that baptism means the reception of the child into the Christian community. But we are not satisfied with this. Why should the child be sprinkled with water, etc.? In order that we may understand this rite we must gather together materials for comparison from the history of the rite, that is, from the memories of mankind appertaining to it; and this must be done from various points of view.

Firstly—Baptism is clearly a rite of initiation, a consecration. Therefore those memories, above all, must be assembled which preserve the rites of initiation.

Secondly—The act of baptism with water. This especial form of procedure proves the necessity of welding together another chain of memories concerning rites in which water was used.

Thirdly—The child is sprinkled with water when it is christened. In this case we must gather together all the forms of the rite, as where the neophyte is sprinkled, or where the child is submerged, etc.

Fourthly—We must re-collect all the reminiscences in mythology and all the superstitious customs which are in any respect similar to the symbolic act of baptism.

In this manner we obtain a study of the act of baptism which is comparative. Thus we ascertain the elements from which baptism is derived; we further ascertain its original meaning, and at the same time make the acquaintance of a world rich in religious mythology, which makes clear to us all the multifarious and derived meanings of the act of baptism. Thus the analyst deals with the dream. He gathers together historical parallels for each dream part, even though they be very remote, and attempts to construct the psychological history of the dream and the meanings that underlie it. By this monographic elaboration of the dream one gains, exactly as in the analysis of the act of baptism, a deep insight into the wonderfully subtle and significant network of sub-conscious determinations; an insight which, as I have said, can only be compared with the historical understanding of an act that we used only to consider from a very one-sided and superficial point of view.

I cannot disguise the fact that in practice, especially at the beginning of an analysis, we do not in all cases make ideal complete analysis of dreams, but that we are apt to keep on gathering together the dream associations until the problem which the patient hides from us becomes so clear that even he can recognize it. This problem is then subjected to conscious elaboration until it is cleared up as far as possible, and once again we stand before a question that cannot be answered.

You will now ask what course is to be pursued when the patient does not dream at all. I can assure you that hitherto all patients, even those who claimed never to have dreamed be-

fore, began to dream when they went through analysis. But on the other hand it frequently occurs that patients who began by dreaming vividly are suddenly no longer able to remember their dreams. The empirical and practical rule, which I have hitherto regarded as binding, is that the patient, if he does not dream, has sufficient conscious material, which he keeps back for certain reasons. A common reason is: "I am in the doctor's hands and am quite willing to be treated by him. But the doctor must do the work, I shall remain passive in the matter."

Sometimes the resistances are of a more serious character. For instance, persons who cannot admit certain morally grave sides to their characters project their deficiencies upon the doctor by calmly presuming that he is more or less deficient morally, and that for this reason they cannot communicate certain unpleasant things to him. If, then, a patient does not dream from the beginning, or ceases to dream, he retains material which is susceptible of conscious elaboration. Here the personal relation between the doctor and his patient may be regarded as the chief hindrance. It can prevent them both, the doctor as well as the patient, from seeing the situation clearly. We must not forget that, as the doctor shows, and must show, a searching interest for the psychology of his patient, so, too, the patient, if he has an active mind, gains some familiarity with the psychology of the doctor, and assumes a corresponding attitude towards him. Thus the doctor is blind to the mental attitude of the patient to the exact extent that he does not see himself and his own subconscious problems. Therefore I maintain that a doctor must be analysed before he practices analysis. Otherwise the practice of analysis can easily be a great disappointment to him, because he can, under certain circumstances, reach a point where further progress is impossible, a situation that may make him lose his head. He is then readily inclined to assume that psychoanalysis is nonsense, so as to avoid the admission that he has run his vessel ashore. If you are sure of your own psychology you can confidently tell your patient that he does not dream because there is still conscious material to be disposed of. I say that one must be sure of one's self in such cases, for the opinions and unsparing criticisms to which one sometimes has to submit can

be tremendously disturbing to one who is unprepared to meet them. The immediate consequence of such a loss of personal balance on the part of the doctor is that he begins to argue with his patient, in order to maintain his influence over him; and this, of course, renders all further analysis impossible.

I have told you that, in the first instance, dreams need only be used as sources of material for analysis. At the beginning of an analysis it is not only unnecessary, but also unwise, to make a so-called complete interpretation of a dream; for it is very difficult indeed to make a complete and really exhaustive interpretation of this kind. The interpretations of dreams that one sometimes reads in psychoanalytic publications are often one-sided, and not infrequently contestable formulations. I include among these certain one-sided sexual reductions of the Viennese school. In view of the comprehensive many-sidedness of the dream material one must beware, above all, of one-sided formulations. The many-sidedness of the meanings of a dream, not its singleness of meaning, is of the utmost value, especially at the beginning of the psychoanalytic treatment. Thus, for instance, a patient had the following dream not long after her treatment had begun: "She was in a hotel in a strange city. Suddenly a fire broke out; and her husband and her father, who were with her, helped her in the work of saving others." The patient is intelligent, extraordinarily sceptical, and absolutely convinced that dream analysis is nonsense. I had difficulty in inducing her to give dream analysis even one trial. Indeed, I saw at once that I could not inform my patient of the real content of the dream under these circumstances, because her resistances were much too great. I selected the fire, the most conspicuous occurrence of the dream, as the starting point for obtaining her free associations. The patient told me that she had recently read in a newspaper that a certain hotel in Z. had burned down; that she remembered the hotel because she had once lived in it. At the hotel she had made the acquaintance of a man, and from this acquaintance a somewhat questionable love affair developed. In connection with this story the fact came out that the patient had already had quite a number of similar adventures, all of which had a certain frivolous character. This

important bit of past history was brought out by the first free association with a dream part. It would have been impossible in this case to make clear to the patient the very striking meaning of the dream. With her frivolous mental attitude, of which her scepticism was only a special instance, she could have calmly repelled any attempt of this kind. But after the frivolity of her mental attitude was recognized and proved to her by the material that she herself had furnished, it was possible to analyse her following dreams much more thoroughly. It is, therefore, advisable in the beginning to make use of dreams for the purpose of reaching the (important) sub-conscious material by means of the patient's free associations in connection with them. This is the best and most cautious method, especially for those who are just beginning to practise analysis. An arbitrary translation of the dreams is absolutely inadvisable. That would be a superstitious practice based on the acceptance of well established symbolic meanings. But there are no fixed symbolic meanings. There are certain symbols that recur frequently, but we are not able to get beyond general statements. For instance, it is quite incorrect to assume that the snake, when it appears in dreams, has a merely phallic meaning; just as incorrect as it is to deny that it may have a phallic meaning in some cases. Every symbol has at least two meanings. I can therefore not admit the correctness of exclusively sexual interpretation such as appear in some psychoanalytic publications; for my experience has made me regard them as one-sided, and therefore insufficient. As an example of this I will tell you a very simple dream of a young patient of mine. It was as follows: "I was going up a flight of stairs with my mother and sister. When we reached the top I was told that my sister was soon to have a child."

I shall now show you how, on the strength of the hitherto prevailing point of view, this dream may be translated so that it receives a sexual meaning. We know that the incest phantasy plays a prominent part in the life of a neurotic. Hence the picture "with my mother and sister" might be regarded as an allusion in this direction. The "stairs" have a sexual meaning that is supposedly well established; they are the sexual act, because of the rhythmic climbing of the steps. The child that my

patient's sister is expecting is nothing but the logical result of these premises. The dream, translated thus, would be a clear fulfillment of infantile desires. You know that that is an important part of Freud's theory of dreams.

Now I have analysed this with the aid of the following process of reasoning: If I say that the stairs are a symbol for the sexual act, whence do I obtain the right to regard the mother, the sister, and the child as concrete; that is, as not symbolic? If, on the strength of the claim that dream pictures are symbolic, I give to certain of these pictures the value of symbols, what right have I to exempt certain other dream parts from this process? If, therefore, I attach symbolic value to the ascent of the stairs, I must also attach a symbolic value to the pictures that represent the mother, the sister, and the child. Therefore I did not translate the dream, but really analysed it. The result was surprising. I will give you the free associations with the separate parts, word for word, so that you can form your own opinions concerning the material. I must say in advance that the young man had finished his studies at the university a few months previously; that he found the choice of a profession too difficult to make; and that he thereupon became neurotic. In consequence of this he gave up his work. His neurosis took, among other things, a decidedly homo-sexual form.

The patient's associations with his mother are as follows: "I have not seen her for a long time, a very long time. I really ought to reproach myself for this. It is wrong of me to neglect her so." "Mother," then, stands here for something which is neglected in an inexcusable manner. I said to the patient: "What is that?" And he replied, with considerable embarrassment, "My work."

With his sister he associated as follows: "It is years since I have seen her. I long to see her again. Whenever I think of her I recall the time when I took leave of her. I kissed her with real affection; and at that moment I understood for the first time what love for a woman can mean." It is at once clear to the patient that his sister represents "love for woman."

With the stairs he has this association: "Climbing upwards; getting to the top; making a success of life; being grown up;

being great." The child brings him the ideas: "New born; a revival; a regeneration; to become a new man."

One only has to hear this material in order to understand at once that the patient's dream is not so much the fulfillment of infantile desires as it is the expression of biological duties which he has hitherto neglected because of his infantilism. Biological justice, which is inexorable, sometimes compels the human being to atone in his dreams for the duties which he has neglected in real life.

This dream is a typical example of the prospective and teleological function of dreams in general, a function that has been especially emphasized by my colleague Dr. Maeder. If we adhered to the one-sidedness of sexual interpretation, the real meaning of the dream would escape us. Sexuality in dreams is, in the first instance, a means of expression, and by no means always the meaning and the object of the dream. The unfolding of the prospective, or teleological meaning of dreams is of particular importance as soon as analysis is so far advanced that the eyes of the patient are more easily turned upon the future than upon his inner life and upon the past.

In connection with the application of symbolism, we can also learn from the example furnished us by this dream that there can be no detailed and well-established dream symbols, but at best a frequent repetition of fairly general meanings. As far as the so-called sexual meaning of dreams, in particular, is concerned, my experience has led me to lay down the following practical rules:

If dream analysis at the beginning of the treatment shows that the dream has an undoubted sexual meaning, this meaning is to be taken realistically; that is, it is proved thereby that the sexual problem itself must be subjected to a careful revision. If, for instance, an incest phantasy is clearly shown to be a latent content of the dream, one must subject the patient's infantile relations towards his parents and his brothers and sisters, as well as his relations towards other persons who are fitted to play the part of his father or mother in his mind, to a careful examination on this basis. But if a dream that comes in a later stage of the analysis has, let us say, an incest phantasy as its

essential content, a phantasy that we have reason to consider disposed of, concrete value must not be attached to it under all circumstances; it must be regarded as symbolic. In this case symbolic value, not concrete value, must be attached to the sexual phantasy. If we did not go beyond the concrete value in this case, we should keep reducing the patient to sexuality, and this would arrest his progress in developing his personality. But the patient's salvation is not to be found by thrusting him back again into primitive sexuality; this would leave him on a low plane of civilization whence he could never obtain freedom and a complete restoration of his health. Retrogression to a state of barbarism is no advantage at all for a civilized human being.

The above mentioned formula, according to which the sexuality of a dream is a symbolic, or analogous expression, naturally also holds good in the cases of dreams that occur at the beginning of an analysis. But the practical reasons that have induced us not to take into consideration the symbolic value of this sexual phantasy, owe their existence to the fact, that a genuine realistic value must be given to the abnormal sexual phantasies of a neurotic in so far as the latter suffers himself to be influenced in his actions by these phantasies. Experience teaches us that these phantasies not only hinder him from better adapting himself to his situation, but that they also lead him to all manner of really sexual acts, and sometimes even to incest. Under these circumstances, it would be of little use to consider only the symbolic content of the dream; the concrete content must first be disposed of.

These arguments are based, as you will have observed, upon a different conception of the dream from that put forward by Freud; and, indeed, my experience has forced me to a different conception. According to Freud, the dream is in its essence a symbolic veil for repressed desires, which would come into conflict with the ideals of the personality. I am obliged to regard the dream-structure from a different point of view. The dream is for me, in the first instance, the subliminal picture of the psychological condition of the individual in his waking state. It gives us a résumé of the subliminal association material which is brought together by the momentary psychological situation.

The volitional meaning of the dream, which Freud calls the repressed desire, is, for me, essentially a means of expression. The activity of the consciousness, represents, speaking biologically, the psychological effort which the individual makes in adapting himself to the conditions of life. His consciousness endeavors to adjust itself to the necessities of the moment, or, to put it differently; there are tasks ahead of the individual, which he must overcome. In many cases the solution is unknown; and for this reason the consciousness always tries to find the solution by the way of analogous experience. We always try to grasp that which is unknown and in the future according to our mental picture of that which has gone before. Now we have no reasons for assuming that the sub-conscious follows laws other than those which rule conscious thought. The sub-conscious, like the conscious, gathers itself about the biological problems and endeavors to find solutions for these by analogy with that which has gone before, just as much as the conscious does. Whenever we wish to assimilate something that is unknown, we go at it by a process of analogy. A simple example of this is the well-known fact, that the Indians, when America was discovered by the Spaniards, took the horses of the conquerors, which were strange to them, for large pigs, because only pigs were familiar to their experience. This is the mental process which we always employ in recognizing unknown things; and this is the essential reason for the existence of symbolism. It is a process of comprehension by means of analogy. The apparently repressed desires, contained in the dream, are volitional tendencies which serve as language-material for the sub-conscious expression. As far as this particular point is concerned, I am in full accord with the views of Adler, another member of the Freud school. With reference to the fact that the sub-conscious materials of expression are volitional elements, or tendencies, I may say that this is dependent upon the archaic nature of dream thinking, a problem with which I have already dealt in previous researches.

Owing to our different conception of the structure of the dream, the further course of analysis also gains a different complexion from that which it had until now. The symbolic valua-

tion given to sexual phantasies in the later stages of analysis necessarily leads less to the reduction of the patient's personality into primitive tendencies than to the extension and further development of his mental attitude; that is, it tends to make his thinking richer and deeper, thus giving him what has always been one of the most powerful weapons that a human being can have in his struggle to adapt himself to life. By following this new course logically, I have come to the conclusion that these religious and philosophical motive forces—the so-called metaphysical need of the human being—must receive positive consideration at the hands of the analyst. Though he must not destroy the motive forces that underlie them, by reducing them to their primitive, sexual roots, he must make them serve biological ends as psychologically valuable factors. Thus these instincts assume once more those functions that have been theirs from time immemorial.

Just as primitive man was able, with the aid of religious and philosophical symbol, to free himself from his original state, so, too, the neurotic can shake off his illness in a similar way. It is hardly necessary for me to say that I do not mean by this that the belief in a religious or philosophical dogma should be thrust upon the patient; I mean that the patient has to reassume the psychological attitude which, in an earlier civilization, was characterized by the living belief in a religious or philosophical dogma. But the religious philosophical attitude does not necessarily correspond to the belief in a dogma. A dogma is a transitory intellectual formulation; it is the result of the religious-philosophical attitude, and is dependent upon time and upon circumstances. This attitude is itself an achievement of civilization; it is a function that is exceedingly valuable from a biological point of view, for it creates the incentives that force human beings to do creative work for the benefit of a future age, and, if necessary, to sacrifice themselves for the welfare of the species.

Thus the human being attains the same sense of unity and totality, the same confidence, the same capacity for self-sacrifice in his conscious existence that belongs unconsciously and instinctively to wild animals. Every reduction, every digression

from the course that has been laid down for the development of civilization does nothing more than turn the human being into a crippled animal; it never makes a so-called natural man of him. My numerous successes and failures in the course of my analytic practice have convinced me of the invariable correctness of this psychological orientation. We do not help the neurotic patient by freeing him from the demand made by civilization; we can only help him by inducing him to take an active part in the strenuous task of carrying on the development of civilization. The suffering which he undergoes in performing this duty takes the place of his neurosis. But, whereas the neurosis and the complaints that accompany it are never followed by the delicious feeling of good work well done, of a duty fearlessly performed, the suffering that comes from useful work, and from victory over real difficulties, brings with it those moments of peace and satisfaction which give the human being the priceless feeling that he has really lived his life.

THE RÔLE OF THE SEXUAL COMPLEX IN DEMENTIA PRECOX

BY JAMES C. HASSALL, M.D.

SENIOR ASSISTANT PHYSICIAN, GOVERNMENT HOSPITAL FOR THE INSANE,
WASHINGTON, D. C.

The opposition which the present transitional period, from a purely descriptive psychiatry into a genetic, dynamic conception of mental disorder, has met, is based to a large extent upon the assertion, on the part of the critics, that they want more illustrative facts which will substantiate the theories advanced by the new psychiatry. It seems to me that much of the mist created by these contentions, sometimes brought forth in a spirit of search for truth and sometimes in a mere blind antagonism to things which are new, would be cleared away by a collection and publication of those instances, met with in daily psychiatric practice, which go a long way toward substantiating the various conceptions thus severely attacked. For this reason, it is our intention to give in this paper, together with a brief summary of the various theories in question, a few abstracts from cases in which sexuality, *per se*, held the center of the stage in the psychosis.

We need not and could not, if we wished, reiterate all that has been said for and against the so-called Freudian psychology. It has been stated, repeatedly and justly, that one can only reach a sympathetic attitude toward this new movement after considerable study, application and clinical experience; after an approach to one's clinical material with an open and unbiased mind. This paper is primarily and essentially to add to the mass of data already on record a collection of clinical material which we hope will serve to throw further light on this subject.

It is not possible in a short description to give even a very small part of the moments upon which any one phenomenon is dependent, because the connections are so frequently demonstrated by the patients, by the tone of the voice, attitude, blushing, trembling and hesitation. One sees these things and reacts uncon-

sciously to them. It has been said that many of the interpretations originate from the physician and not from the patient. The greater number of interpretations originate from the patients themselves and when the resistance is overcome, the patient will usually confirm a correct interpretation. Many cases, where real processes may be inferred, prove the truth of the interpretations. Thus, from a certain delusion one may infer reproaches of conscience because of homo-sexuality and receive confirmation from the patient without any suggestion. The interpretations which can be applied to most cases can be verified in many ways; mythology, symbolism in dreams and studies of experimental associations yield exactly the same results.

Inasmuch as the genetic concept of the libido is gradually and steadily replacing the more restricted field which was conceived by the term sexuality, we shall confine ourselves in the theoretical part of this paper to the discussion of this concept.

Of late there has been considerable change in the conception of the term "libido." Formerly it was looked upon as meaning sexuality alone. Freud's definition of libido appeared as a sexual desire exclusively; though his definition was much wider than the medical use of the term, which was used especially for sexual lust. A gradual change of the concept of libido has taken place. It is now a genetic concept, rather than a descriptive one. Jung says, "Libido is energy—that energy which manifests itself by vital processes, which is subjectively perceived as aspiration, longing, striving." The libido is seen in many diverse forms in the varying natural phenomena. At first it is found in the early life as the instinct of nutrition, providing for the development of the body. As the body develops there opens up, successively, new spheres of activity which urgently demand the libido. The last, and from its functional significance, most over-powering sphere of influence, is sexuality which seems very closely connected with the function of nutrition. In the sphere of the sexuality, the libido may be used in its strict sexual sense, for here libido appears as a sexual primitive power.

The various qualities of the libido are shown admirably by Jung in the case of those animals where the nutritional stage is separated by the pupa stage from the stage of sexuality. The libido becomes dissociated from its original function of reproduc-

tion. The force which was sexual becomes "desexualized" and a great part is utilized in the nutrition and protection of the offspring.

The libido in its transference from the nutritional to the sexual function carries over considerable of the function of nutrition and this explains the close connection between these functions. By degrees the libido relinquishes the special character of the instinct of nutrition and acquires the character of the sexual. The polymorphous tendencies of the libido during this transition are explained by the gradual movement of the libido from the function of nutrition toward the sexual function. The more smoothly the libido withdraws from its provisional positions, the more quickly and completely does the formation of normal sexuality occur. All the early infantile inclinations should be abandoned, as they are not yet of a sexual nature. If they are not entirely relinquished we find an imperfectly developed state of sexuality, an infantile sexuality, a perverse sexuality.

As the individual develops it is necessary for the libido to be transferred to other spheres, which though associated with sexuality, cannot be regarded as purely sexual. If this process of transference occurs without injury to the adaptation of the individual, it is known as sublimation.

In the process of sublimation the libido is in danger of what Jung calls introversion, that is to say, the inhibited sexual impulse, instead of being sublimated, may be turned from the real into imaginative channels where it occupies itself with phantasy formations. We find in our work that many individuals retain the forms of libido which should have been renounced at an early age and which are a continuation of the infantile stage of libido development. As a result, instead of being employed in the adaptation of the individual to reality the libido is used in the creation of phantasies in which the individual's wishes are fulfilled. If the libido is not used entirely in the adaptation of the individual to his environment, it is always introverted to a greater or less extent. As a consequence, the individual lives more or less in the past. He is concerned with matters which should no longer be of importance to him and his psychic world is full of reminiscences which have ceased long since to pertain to reality.

In many cases it can be shown that the sexual desire, instead of

developing with the individual, remains fixed upon infantile aims which no longer accord with the individual's stage of development and a conflict arises in an effort to subdue the outgrown infantile impulses which seek gratification. The individual in his own inner efforts to attain normal satisfaction in the outer world becomes morbid. He is disordered by the difficulties which he experiences within in adapting himself to the real world and by his efforts to attain a normal method of sexual gratification.

It is well known that the sexual constitution of a human being is deep rooted, all pervading and permanent and is congenital in a large measure. Sex penetrates the whole person; man's sexual life is a large part of his life as a whole. Freud maintains that the sexual impulse, both physically and psychically, plays an important part in the lives of children, though it is widely unlike that of the sexual impulse in adults. On account of the large part it plays, the infantile sexuality tends to disappear from the surface of consciousness to be suppressed and transformed, still remaining influential, however, in adult life. As a manifestation of this infantile sexual life, he believes that incestuous feelings are very common among children, especially in boys for the mother and in girls for the father. This incestuous feeling gives rise to the so-called Oedipus and Electra complexes which we so frequently meet in adult life and which will be considered later.

Certain mental states, especially the disagreeable events of life are not properly reacted to. The mind endeavors to put aside, to crowd out of the memory all these painful experiences. They are repressed and are crowded out of clear consciousness into the unconscious where they begin to lead a separate existence in the form of submerged complexes. The individual is not aware of the existence of the complex and cannot control it in its constant efforts for expression.

Every emotional event which is repressed becomes a complex. If it does not meet an already existing complex it is only of momentary importance and sinks gradually into the latent mass of memory where it remains until a like impression recalls it. But, if an emotional event meets an already existing complex, it reinforces it and assists it for some time in gaining the upper hand. The strongest complexes unite themselves with the strongest emotions and impulses. It is not at all surprising then that we find

that most of the complexes are of an erotic or of a sexual nature. In women, especially, where the sexual life is the center of the psychic life, there hardly exists a single complex which is not in relation to sexuality.

Under all circumstances a complex must exert itself and if the sexual-complex cannot exert itself in a normal manner, it must make use of by-ways, so we have a transference or a sublimation of the sexual energy. The energy is withdrawn from sexual application and directed toward social feelings. The unsatisfied libido is transferred into the feverish activity of a vocation, artistic and scientific study, etc. The social life of an individual depends upon his capacity for adaptability which is a sublimated sexual transference.

There is much doubt at present regarding the cause of dementia precox. It has been noted that the symptoms of hysteria and dementia precox are similar to a certain extent and the question why dementia precox and not hysteria develops in a given case has been much discussed. The idea expressed by Jung that perhaps the affect of dementia precox gives opportunity for the appearance of an anomalous metabolism or toxin which injures the brain in a more or less irreparable manner, so that the highest psychic functions become paralyzed, is of importance. On account of this toxin there may be a definite fixation of the complex and the acquisition of new complexes becomes difficult or ceases entirely; the inciting complex remains to the last preventing a further development of the personality. However, it cannot be disputed that the change of metabolism and "intoxication" may appear primarily from somatic causes and seize the accidentally remaining complex and change it pathologically.

In dementia precox as in hysteria we find complexes which are tenaciously fixed and which the psyche is unable to overcome. In hysteria the causal relation between the complex and the disease has been proved. In dementia precox we are not at all sure of the connection; we do not know whether it is the complex which causes the disease or whether at the beginning of the disease a definite complex which is responsible for symptoms is present. In some cases, it is certain that the complexes are the cause of many of the symptoms, but one is not sure that the complex beside producing its psychological effects, does not produce some un-

known substance which aids the process of destruction. Perhaps some toxin, produced by other than psychic causes seizes a complex and changes it specifically so that it appears as though the complex has a causal significance.

In dementia precox we find our patient unable to adapt himself to reality and tending to construct an inner world of phantasy of his own, surrendering the external reality to it. By considerable psychological study it has been discovered that the lack of adaptation to reality is compensated by a progressive increase in phantasy creation. This continues until finally the phantasy world is more real to the patient than is external reality. Reality is repressed and replaced by the phantasies which are created through complexes.

In the application of the libido theory to dementia precox, we say that the libido is not used in the adaptation of the individual to his environment. We find an individual adapting himself fairly well to reality until he reaches a certain period of life at which he experiences some difficulty which he cannot overcome and to which he cannot adjust himself. A normal individual, if he cannot overcome the difficulty, adjusts himself to it. The abnormal individual, unable either to overcome or properly adjust himself to the difficulty, develops a phantasy state in which he is able to live and in which his wishes are fulfilled. The libido, then, being unused in the adaptation of the economy to reality, introverts or regresses in the paths along which it has advanced and fixes itself at a level which attracts it and at which at one time in its evolution it lingered abnormally long. This level to which the libido introverts, be it the nutritional, the auto-erotic, the narcissistic, or the homosexual determines the type of symptoms of the psychosis.

Abraham believes, that in dementia precox the libido is turned away from animate and inanimate objects, and also that there is an inability on the part of the patient to sublimate the libido properly. He states "The psycho-sexual peculiarity of dementia precox consists in the return of the individual affected to auto-erotism. The symptoms of the disease are a form of auto-erotic sexual activity." He also believes that the individual whose libido has never risen above this stage of psycho-sexual development, is as the disease progresses, forced further and further back into the

auto-erotic period. According to him, the assumption of an abnormal psychosexual constitution, in that the libido is fixed at the auto-erotic period, seems to explain part of the phenomena of dementia precox and renders possible the dispensing with the hypothesis that a toxin(?) is responsible as a cause of the disease.

The complex which largely determines the symptoms of dementia precox is usually in the foreground and can be reached by way of the complex indicators. We see that the patient cannot free himself psychologically from it. He associates with it and allows all his actions to be constellated by it. Sexuality being so all-pervading and far-reaching in its power, shows the most lucid examples of this type of complex.

There is one impulse, the sexual, which is common to all living beings. This impulse with the various complexes connected with it, makes up a considerable part of our ego. In almost every case of dementia precox we meet with the sexual complex, sometimes alone, sometimes in connection with others. It may be said that there are no cases of dementia precox, just as there are no normal individuals in whom this complex does not play an important part. Frequently it is in the foreground; many times alone. It is not at all rare, however, that we meet with other complexes where sexuality plays no greater part than in the thoughts of a normal individual; in many cases this complex may be forced entirely into the background by others.

It has long been known that in normal individuals a sublimation of sexual ideas into religious feelings takes place. Many patients, as well as normal individuals, often consciously seek a substitute for unhappy love in religion. As soon as the psychosis becomes manifest, the repressed sexual ideas appear and mingle with the religious ideas; thus we frequently find religion and sexuality confused in the disease picture. God, Christ, or saints visit the patient and the one who is foremost in the religious interest is obviously identified with the person loved. With married women, God represents the husband; with unmarried the lover; the minister at times plays the same rôle in the delusions of the patient. Women who live in total sexual abstinence are seduced by the spirit of God and enjoy all the pleasures connected therewith. One female patient was pleased when she did not menstruate for then she knew she would give birth to a child which

was conceived by God. Another patient, who was in love with a minister (it could not be proved that this was not a one-sided affair), developed her psychosis shortly after the marriage of the minister. She was very erotic in her disease and was visited frequently by Christ. Later in her psychosis she saw Christ in the person of the physician whom she always addressed as Jesus Christ, and in whose presence she always bowed. She wrote many letters demanding sexual satisfaction from the physician. In such a case, the departure from reality is truly very great.

In the case of men, a female angel often represents the loved one. One of our patients was frequently visited at night by an angel and this delusion gave him no small amount of pleasure. Many men identify themselves with God and Christ in a sexual way.

The devil may play the same rôle as God though the former is less frequently represented. One patient was seduced by her lover. After her psychosis began the lover appeared in the form of the devil who was ready to pierce her with his 'fork.'

Sin and sexuality are closely connected. When one sins he is morally unclean. Freud has shown with regard to onanism, that frequently the feeling of moral uncleanness is carried over to physical uncleanness. This is well shown by one patient who washed his hands innumerable times daily. He stated that he did not feel right unless his hands were perfectly clean and he felt restless until he could wash them. He noticed that the hands of others were unclean and for this reason would not shake hands with anyone. He said, "If your hands are not clean and you touch the 'tender parts' of your body, you might get venereal disease." This patient might have feared that he would get venereal disease from his hands for he was an excessive onanist.

Onanism is frequently accompanied by the feeling of shame, and the feeling that the looks betray the fault often is expressed by the patient refusing to show the face or to look directly at people. Onanism, of course, is not the only cause for this, though it is an occasional one. A patient was discovered in the act of onanism; thereafter he covered his head with the bed clothing when one approached him. If his face was uncovered, he closed his eyes and struggled to replace the covering. A female patient could not speak with anyone without looking to the floor or turn-

ing the head away; the reason, she herself later proved. Another patient when asked why she covered her face stuck her finger into her mouth.

It has been shown that an unknown sexual relationship exists between the mother and son and father and daughter. This is especially noticeable in children in the form of the childish desire for the parent. At this early stage no sexual significance of any importance is connected with this feeling of desire. However, there is attached to it a germinating eroticism which gradually increases as the years go on until finally the classical form of the complex is developed. In the son, the love for the mother and the corresponding jealousy toward the father is known as the Oedipus complex. In the daughter the affection for the father and the jealousy toward the mother is called the Electra complex.

As the individual develops the image of the parent is so changed and transfigured by affection that frequently it bears little resemblance to past reality. The phantasies created by this complex no longer deal with the real parent but with a very often completely altered creation of the individual's imagination. This complex of the parent provides a very important field for the employment of introverted libido.

Since our attention has been called to it, we have discovered the parent-complex frequently. It plays an important rôle in normal and abnormal persons in the choice of the person loved. In dementia precox it is met in many cases governing to a large extent the hallucinatory and delusionary experiences. In her psychosis, a patient who entertained an Electra complex threatened to kill her husband and her child. She frequently abused and assaulted the former upon his visits to her at the hospital. At an early age she was devotedly attached to her father and would cry with fear that he would become wet every time it rained. The father died when she was six years old and she was deeply depressed at that time. After her marriage she found that she did not love her husband. Her dislike for him grew until finally she could no longer bear to be near him. A few months after marriage an abortion was performed and following it she complained that her pelvic organs were displaced and for this she blamed and threatened her husband. Four months after the birth of her child she threatened to kill both child and husband.

During her residence in the hospital she accused nurses of poisoning the child. This woman was governed by a marked Electra complex. The man she married was symbolically her father—there was no doubt about the unconscious incestuous relations with the father. At times she hated her husband and as her child was also his, there is no doubt but that, at times, she wished them both dead.

A young boy in whom the Œdipus complex was thought to be present hallucinated that his father was being killed and he worried unless something should happen to his mother because of his not being with her. The feeling of hatred for the father was expressed by the patient's fear that the father was being injured, an indirect wish phantasy.

The voices which one patient heard in her hallucinations accused her of incestuous relations with her father. She had wed and was unhappy, having frequent trouble with her husband whom she believed to be unfaithful to her. Now, in her psychosis she is hypnotized by a young man who wishes to have intercourse with her. Though she complains of this it does not distress her to any great extent; she mentions it casually and in fact seems to be rather pleased with the whole situation. The young man whom she once loved and who now has hypnotized her represents symbolically her father and her desire for intercourse with the young man is expressed by her in a negative manner. She does not wish intercourse, it is he who wishes intercourse with her. She is married and intercourse with another than her husband is not permitted by her conscience, therefore she is hypnotized and not responsible.

At the beginning of her psychosis a patient expressed the delusion that her mother wished to kill her. It developed that the mother had been substituted in the delusions for the father. The patient was governed by an Electra complex and had the unconscious wish for sexual relation with her father which she expressed by the idea that her father wished to kill her.

A patient had a number of dreams which had quite an obvious connection with his delusionary field which centers about an incest complex. His persecutions have their source in his mother and his eldest daughter who put poison in his tobacco to render him sexually impotent. If the patient were really impotent the in-

cestuous relations could not occur. As the incest complex becomes unbearable to him at times and as he is potent sexually, he develops the delusion that, by means of poison they are trying to render him impotent, the idea being that such a circumstance or at least his belief in it, would negate the idea of any incestuous practices.

In the development of the sexual instinct the narcissistic period is one in which the libido is directed toward the body of the individual as the object of interest—of love. This is a normal intermediate stage in the development of sexual life, but a number of individuals tend to remain in it longer than is necessary. At this time the genitals play an important part in the phantasy life. The course of this tendency of the individual to linger in this stage is by the choice of an individual with similar genitalia; thus homosexuality is developed. Many people who become homosexual are never able to free themselves entirely from these inclinations and those individuals who attain a normal heterosexuality sublimate the homosexual ideas and turn them to other ends.

This period of narcissism is one which affords a great possibility for the fixation of the libido. Anything which prevents the proper flow of libido in an individual who possesses such a fixation point may easily cause the libido which was sublimated in its development to regress and to fix itself at that period.

It has been shown by Freud, Maeder and others that homosexuality plays a very great part in the psychoses. The attempt to repress homosexual ideas frequently gives rise to many symptoms, chief among which are ideas of persecution. One of the mechanisms by which the homosexual ideas are changed into delusions of persecution is as follows: The idea of one man being in love with another is unbearable to the ego and the thought "I love him" is substituted by an assimilable one "I do not love him, therefore I hate him." The idea "I hate him" is changed by projection into "He hates me and this justifies me in hating him."

In paranoia we find the patient tending to make a new world in which he can live but with dementia precox, the patient remains in his unreal, phantastic, shut-off world utilizing his hallucinatory mechanisms to express his repressed ideas which gain the upper hand.

One patient who was outwardly homosexual suffered from

hallucinations of hearing which called him vile names and accused him of homosexual practices and he accused other patients of talking about him. Once in a letter to his mother, he wrote "I should have been born a woman."

In another patient the homosexual component is very evident especially in the content of hallucinatory experiences. In detailing his troubles he stated that he had been arrested for having a small boy for homosexual practices. The patient was acquitted of the charge and immediately his hallucinations began. He heard voices which accused him of being infected with syphilis of the rectum. As people passed him, they spoke of him and touched various parts of their bodies. He wandered about from city to city trying to evade his persecutors but the story of his actions followed him. Since his detention in the hospital, there has been no change in the content of his hallucinations. He is now hypnotized by the attendants. He accuses them of influencing his dreams. "They make me dream that I am a partner in homosexual acts." The patient stated that at certain times in his life he had been inclined toward homosexual practices though he had never allowed himself to indulge in them.

A man who was very effeminate and who said with decided sexual mimic that he preferred to talk to men rather than to women, frequently gave voice to the delusions that his attendants tried to stick him in the back with a long knife. They also poisoned him by injections of uric acid. The knife has long been known as a symbol for the penis and the idea of being stuck in the back can only be taken here as a symbol for pederasty.

A patient, who was found to be very homosexual, hallucinated that those in his environment wished homosexual relations with him. Every movement by others had reference to him and was made to persecute and trouble him. In explaining his persecutions he said, "The whole crowd dislike me because I won't give up to them. They are all ill-mannered and filthy in speech and habits and are jealous of me because I am well bred, and have lived a moral life." To this patient the idea that he is homosexual is unbearable and is repressed. He is, therefore, highly moral; he does not wish homosexual relations. It is those about him who wish to use him for such practices and because he will not submit to them they persecute him by actions and words.

A man with whom one patient had been especially friendly in his youth has now in the psychosis assumed the rôle of "chief persecutor." At the instigation of this man everyone in the patient's environment is influenced to persecute him, in order as the patient states, "to prove that I do those things" (i. e., homosexual acts). The patient has wandered about so that the persecutor cannot gain entire control of his mind and "make him commit onanism." At present the attendants at the hospital are in the employ of this man and the patient's food is drugged so that he has nocturnal emissions which are talked about by those in his environment; in fact the whole world is informed that he practices onanism.

A repressed homosexuality was responsible for many of the hallucinations and delusions of one patient who stated that while in the army he had been invited to participate in homosexual acts. This he refused to do. Almost immediately a rumor was spread about to the effect that he was a homosexualist and "that he would take anyone who came along." He stated that he did not hear this actually spoken but he could be sure of it from the actions of his companions. Later in his psychosis he developed the delusion that he was infected with syphilis of the rectum by those who had hypnotized him and had used his body for sexual purposes. In this case the projected homosexual ideas return to him in the form of persecutions. He did not wish homosexual practices; others wished them of him. In order to explain that such acts had been committed he had been hypnotized or placed under the influence of a drug so that he was no longer responsible for what had happened to him. The patient was decidedly effeminate and stated that until he was sixteen years of age he had been raised "like a girl."

Marital troubles are frequently responsible for many of the symptoms of the psychosis and are expressed by the patient in many ways. The dislike for the married partner or the love for another is often expressed in the delusion or hallucination. The husband or wife like any other person who is hated, is often declared to be dead with or without mourning on the part of the patient. Thus one patient heard in her hallucinations that her husband was dead. She even went to his office to prove that this was so. Later in her psychosis she stated that her husband had

hypnotized her before marriage and so she was not responsible for having married him.

In her psychosis the voices told one patient, who was unhappily wed, that she should marry a young man whom she had known in her youth. She stated that she did not wish for this for she knew the lover was untrue to her. Yet, this fact did not prevent her from wanting him and having him with her in her delusions. In order to fulfill her wishes all her relatives who had died were again alive and in communication with her. Once in a letter to her husband, she wrote "I never married no one and you pushed yourself on me from the beginning." Here again is the attempt to prove that the patient was not responsible for an unhappy marriage.

A husband is less dependent upon the wife and marital troubles appear to be less frequently seen in the psychosis. However, the husband perhaps more frequently than the wife exempts himself from obligations to his partner by imagining that she is unfaithful. The man himself may be untrue but to justify himself projects the delusion upon the wife.

Impotence often is the cause for many delusions. The man, being ashamed of this must lower his wife, so she is unfaithful—a prostitute perhaps. Frequently the delusion develops that the wife no longer wishing the husband, tries to poison him, etc., therefore he is justified in attempting to injure her and her children which he identifies with her. One patient, when he began to improve, stated that just before the onset of his disease he became impotent. Early in his psychosis he believed that his wife was unfaithful to him. Later she had infected him with syphilis which she had contracted from others and because of this delusion he had attempted to injure her.

The identification of a child with the father or the lover is frequent in dementia precox and is responsible often for some of the delusions. Though the patients rarely kill their children, it is often that they believe them dead in their psychosis, the mother in her phantasy frequently being the murderer of the child. Thus one patient, the unmarried mother of a child, heard in her psychosis the voices of people saying that she had killed her child. In her dreams she saw blood, often a large amount of it. Voices later told her that her child was to be killed. Here the child was

identified with the father with whom the patient had trouble previous to the onset of her psychosis.

One patient often heard the voices say that some harm had befallen her husband and children. In her delusions she was often pregnant but always she had many abortions which were performed by the husband while she slept. The husband was hated by her and in all probability did not satisfy her for she was very erotic in her disease and frequently demanded intercourse of male patients.

Many times we see in our patients various acts which at first do not appear to be sexual in nature. However, sexual ideas and feelings are frequently concealed and are expressed only in symbolic acts. This concealment is often made by giving the genital idea to another location, usually higher up. The vicinity of the genitals, the perineum and anus often have sexual significance, and in this connection it may be said that defecation at times is used as a symbol of birth. Many patients in their mannerisms frequently touch first the genitals then other parts of the body as the breasts, mouth, top of head, etc. Later the genitals are omitted and perhaps only one part of the body is touched or rubbed. Frequently such actions are masturbation symbols. One patient who practiced onanism incessantly for a time placed the finger on the anus, later the finger was pressed into the ear while the head and at times the whole body were moved rhythmically. With one patient rubbing of the abdomen and breast could be directly traced to the original rubbing of the vulva. In another patient it was found that a mannerism was a castration symbol. The patient placed the finger in the outer canthus of his eye pressing upon it until the eyeball finally bulged entirely from the fossa and rested on the cheek. When pressure was released the eye returned to its fossa. This act the patient performed innumerable times daily and when the sight was lost in this eye he began to perform the same act with the other.

There is no doubt that many of the somatic hallucinatory experiences have a sexual origin. Visions which are connected with anxiety are probably always sexual. Electrical sensations which are so common and of which the patients so frequently complain are probably of this origin. The feeling of cramps, stiffness

and tension in the muscles also belong here. One patient who experienced peculiar sensations in the genitalia was electrically connected with a woman. One of our patients believed that he was connected by telepathy with a woman "who used him whenever she wished." Thus she weakened him and made him have peculiar sensations in his body. These sensations rose to his head so that he could no longer think.

The hysterical opisthotonus has long been known as a sexual convulsive symptom. In one catatonic opisthotonus was probably of sexual origin though the connection could not be proven absolutely. The patient lay in bed supported only by his head and feet making rhythmic motions with his pelvis and abdomen. At the same time he was cursing and using vile names at some imaginary person with whom he was conversing. Another patient who lay for some time in this position later explained his conduct by saying that the voices accused him of doing bad things with his mother.

In all of the above instances the libido is no longer concerned in the adaptation of the individual to reality but is utilized in the creation of phantasies. It has introverted and has fixed itself at a lower level, a sexual level, and the symptoms shown have their origin in complexes which are of a sexual nature.

Were it desirable to enlarge this paper, many more illustrations of the importance of the sexual content of the psychoses could be readily adduced. It is believed, however, that enough casuistic material has been furnished to show without doubt that sexuality is used at least as a vehicle and in many cases as a *primum movens* in the patient's endeavor towards attainment of gratification and towards reaching that adaptation to reality in which he has so completely failed.

In the psychoses where reality is removed from the stage, where phantasy furnishes that unlimited play for the emotions, wishes and strivings of the patient and where attainment is made apparently easy, the patient reverts again and again to that central point of existence, sexuality. One may or may not be always correct in the evaluation and interpretation of this phenomenon but on this account we must not and cannot close our eyes to the fact that sexuality does play an important rôle in abnormal mental states just as it does in normal healthy mental life.

LITERATURE

- Abraham, K. Die Psycho-sexuellen Differenzen der Hysterie und der Dementia Præcox. Zentralblatt f. Nervenheilkunde u. Psychiatrie, 1908.
- Bleuler, E. Dementia Præcox, Handbuch der Psychiatrie, 1911.
- Bleuler, E., and Jung, C. G. Komplexe und Krankheitsursachen bei Dementia Præcox, Zentralblatt f. Nervenheilkunde u. Psychiatrie, 1908, No. 6.
- Freud, S. Three Contributions to the Sexual Theory. Nervous and Mental Disease Monog. Series, No. 7.
- Psychoanalytische Bemerkungen über einen autobiographischen beschriebenen Fall von Paranoia. Jahrbuch f. Psychoanal. u. Psychopath. Forschungen, 1911, Vol. 3.
- Jung, C. G. The Psychology of Dementia Præcox. Nervous and Mental Disease Monog. Series, No. 3.
- The Theory of Psychoanalysis. The PSYCHOANALYTIC REVIEW, Vol. I, Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4; Vol. II, No. 1 and Nervous and Mental Disease Monog. Series, No. 19.
- Maeder, A. Psychologische Untersuchungen an Dementia Præcox Kranken. Jahrbuch f. Psychoanal. und Psychopath. Forschungen, 1910, Vol. 2.
- Payne, C. R. Some Freudian Contributions to the Paranoia Problem. The PSYCHOANALYTIC REVIEW, Vol. I, Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4; Vol. II, Nos. 1, 2.
- White, Wm. A. Mental Mechanisms. Nervous and Mental Disease Monog. Series, No. 8.
- Dementia præcox. Archives of Diagnosis. October, 1911.

PSYCHO-GENETICS OF ANDROCRATIC EVOLUTION

BY THEODORE SCHROEDER

NEW YORK CITY

Within the last few decades students of social phenomena have become aware of the existence of psychic factors as determining causes for the character of our civilization. Still more recent is the more precise recognition of the nature of these factors and their relation to our bodily functioning. We are slowly uncovering psychologic imperatives which control the character of our social customs and institutions, just as the biologic imperative is a dynamic determinant of our physical organism. Psychology has been accepted as a subdivision of sociology and it is rapidly assuming therein a place even more important than its position as a branch of physiology. I desire to point out what seems to me a tabooed and overlooked determinant of our androcentric evolution.

Without mature modes of thinking in the conscious supervision and check upon our mental activities, their object and meaning, we are but unconscious mechanical aggregates, physiological mechanism, undergoing automatic changes through blind reactions—mere creatures of impulse and habits. With the advent of mature self-consciousness a new force is introduced, which by virtue of its *personal* significance now attached to objective factors invests all human reactions with new qualities, just as water differs in its properties from a mere mechanical mixture of oxygen and hydrogen. We are psychically differentiated from other separate aggregates of the human mass only in so far as we have become conscious of personal aims and of a personal meaning in our endeavors. Moreover, the process of individuation becomes more marked as the social consciousness develops—that is, with the increase in the number of beings and data which in our consciousness are correlated to each present personal activity and meaning. We are mature in our modes of thinking just so far as we get away from the infantile

habit of objectivizing our feeling and attach our feeling-interests to an increasing number of objectives, and to the scientific method and to its fruits.

This new social force, this social and self-consciousness, presents numerous problems for the students of social phenomena. Indeed, those, who will hereafter study the laws of social growth must relate the facts of history to the data obtainable through psychoanalytical interpretation of the persons who successfully imposed their personal desires and meanings upon the changing social order of their time. Genetic history and genetic sociology are becoming, respectively, recognized as branches of genetic psychology. It is to psycho-genetics—this youngest among the sciences,—that we must look in the future for an answer to many of the difficult questions concerning the origins and meaning of our social institutions.

To genetic sociology,—the newest application of psycho-genetics—we must turn for an answer to the question—what is the origin of our present-day mental attitude of accepting, conceding and glorifying special privileges along the line of cleavage marked by sexual distinctions? What is the psychic significance of our androcracy? An understanding of the law of evolution and of the cardinal mental mechanisms revealed by psychoanalysis will enable us to retrace the psychic stages through which our customs, social institutions, and civilization have developed. Our immediate problem is to uncover the psychic factors underlying modern male supremacy. In doing this we must assume that androcracy had a personal meaning and advantage to those who, more than their fellow humans, were sufficiently self-conscious to impose their personal desires upon others under some claim or other, likely to appeal to the rest. Furthermore, these personal meanings became factors of the human, arisen to some degree of self-consciousness, because in harmony with prior feeling attitudes arising from the natural relation of the persons affected.

Obviously, for the primitive mind, practically all activities were the result of the primal impulse manifesting itself in the two dominant factors of sex-hunger and food-hunger. In this aspect all conventions, institutions and activities may be reduced

to the psychic accompaniments, consequences and manifestations of food-hunger and sex-hunger. The question then arises: How far may our androcentric customs be explained by the psychic unfoldment of these primary impulses?

Since the line of cleavage as to androcentric privilege is obviously founded on the differences in the visible mechanism of sex, we may infer that our androcentric civilization is the necessary result of psychic factors brought into being by a consciousness of these outward and visible differences of sex. Since we know both gynocratic and androcratic institutions to have held sway, we are forced to conclude that sex-supremacy did not arise solely through any structural or functional differences *as such* nor through any conspicuous difference in physical strength, between the sexes, as has been erroneously maintained, but must have been the result of a psychic differentiation arising from the objective consideration of the sexual organs.

I exclude the objective consideration of concealed sexual functioning of the female and of its social import, because of these there could have been no consciousness until long after social custom had recognized some supremacy of the one sex over the other.

Everywhere sex discriminations are avowedly based upon, defended and sanctified by warring religious cults. Therefore, in our search after an explanation for androcracy we naturally turn to the known psychic correlation between sex and religion. Numerous authors have observed some connection between religion and sex, but thus far no one has made anything like a thorough study of the subject. I am engaged in such a labor and the data already at hand appear to me to shed considerable light upon the psycho-genetic imperative responsible for male supremacy in society.

Elsewhere¹ I have undertaken to justify the following conclusions which I can only restate here: When unconscious automatism was transforming to self-consciousness, undoubtedly one of man's very first cognitions pressing for an explanation, was sexual manifestations. Man in the period of racial adoles-

¹ Ref. *Alienist and Neurologist*, August, 1907. See also *PSYCHO-ANALYTIC REVIEW*, February, 1914, p. 129, where other articles of mine on the broader thesis are cited.

cence found in the sexual mechanism and functioning the first conscious and the most intense joy of his existence; the first visible and most immediate cause of life; the object of conscious dependence; the first sense-perceived associate of his highest, his deepest, and almost his only hopes, longings, joys, and the instrument for their realization. Aware that the sex impulse was uncontrollable by his own volition, man naturally invested the generative organs with some sort of a psychic life of their own. Sexual activities, always quite beyond the control of his own will, suggested the idea of a superhuman intelligence which knows and controls them with perfect adjustment as means to beneficent ends.

Under the circumstances it was inevitable that the solemn awe of sex-mystery, the seeming transcendence of sex-ecstasy, and the predominance of a conscious dependence upon sex for joy and life, combined with the supposed superhuman intelligence ascribed to the sex organs, should fuse into a worshipful reverence for the sex-mechanism as the original, intelligent, objective and seemingly ultimate source of nearly everything that to primitive men was most important.

Thus at the very threshold of human self-consciousness we find the development of phallic worship as well as the first difference in psychic states toward the sexes, induced by a conspicuous difference in the visible mechanisms of sex, and its functioning.

Restating the problem now under consideration in the terms suggested by these anthropologic considerations we may ask ourselves: How did the contemplation of this diversity of physical structure actually produce differences of psycho-social states? What was the actual mental process at work at the early developmental stage under consideration? Conscious self-examination of the mental processes was quite impossible for these primitive humans. Man's budding self-consciousness was mainly dependent upon his feeling-states, mostly of cravings, which gradually and unconsciously became associated with information derived through peripheral sense organs, without consciousness of the process. These feeling-states, their associations and the attempted explanations of them, furnished the whole content of his consciousness.

Of the male contribution to the process of impregnation, many primitive people are known to have been wholly ignorant. Reflecting upon the relative significance to be attached to "male" and "female," primitive thought could only have contrasted the non-visible and unknown process of gestation with the visible activities of the phallus and necessarily formed a judgment of relative values usually according to the outward and visible aspects and their feeling consequences. Women were the apparent recipient of sex joys while men possessed the visible, active instrument for imparting them,—a mechanism which must have been invested from the first dawn of consciousness with a psychic life all its own,—beyond human control and therefore, "superhuman."

Ignorance of the male contribution to impregnation coupled with the claim of importance for human generation, made by some dominant female personality, might at times result in the development of gynocracy. However, when humans have become conscious of the male's function in the process of impregnation, it was man rather than woman who seemed to carry about with him the conspicuous habitat of the sex "divinity," while now woman appeared to be a recipient of its "superhuman" blessings, a mere instrument of deity. Men alone carried the outward and visible sign of divinity, and therefore, according to the infantile mode of thinking, worshipfulness would be oftenest accorded to "maleness."

In this connection there is another factor which doubtless contributed much toward the development of the same psychologic imperative. I refer to the relative position which men and women habitually assume during coitus. Especially as the human animal gradually achieved an upright position, its physiological structure seems to have imposed upon woman, during the sexual embrace, the relative position of the conquered, the subdued and dominated, while man held the position of the conqueror, the master who imposes. This subordinate physical position, during the most intense moments of existence, would necessarily make a profound and lasting impression upon the psyche and with only a proportionately diminished intensity it would settle into a more or less resigned affect attitude of inferiority, toward

women. This in turn would result in intellectual explanations and justifications, following in a circle the reasoning which has insured and now perpetuates male dominance in the race.

From all this it follows that there is a biologic source for the psychologic imperative upon which our androcentric civilization is founded. It does not follow, however, that the conventionally accepted feeling-attitude of inferiority toward women, therefore, is a matter of permanence. On the contrary this psychologic imperative may be altered by more mature modes of thinking, or even may be reversed. An emotional reaction is already taking place which finds its most conspicuous manifestations in the hysterical activities of many "emancipated" feminists. A careful study of the intellectual justifications offered will show these defenses to be afterthoughts, just as much founded upon infantile mental processes as is most of the androcentric opposition to female emancipation.

Another portion of the woman's movement is, however, founded upon emancipation from infantile modes of thinking, rather than hysterical reactions to some popular results of such thinking. With such, their judgment is founded primarily upon a study of the objective realities of our existence and a refined sense of justice derived therefrom by the use of the scientific method.

What was, at first, freely and spontaneously accorded to "maleness" subsequently came to be demanded as a right. What was, at first, a freewill offering on the part of women soon became a duty and a means for their exploitation. Hence the development of priesthood, and the subjugation of woman, largely by the help of institutional religion. In the course of functional differentiation within society the priests became medicine-men and chiefs of various degrees of importance, with attendant ranks and slaves; also upon innumerable social and political functionaries, there were conferred a portion of the prerogatives of divinity, as derived from priestly leadership. From such habitual modes of thinking and acting, gradually grew the psychologic imperative by which masculinity came to dominate completely both church and state. Through this dominance came increased opportunity for exploitation. Thus there came into

being the control of economic determinants which still further entrenched the male power.

These conclusions as to the psycho-genetic source of our androcracy have been thus far justified largely by deductive processes, but find confirmation in ancient philosophies which were incorporated into Christianity. Thus Aristotle makes considerable argument to prove that in the process of generation the female furnishes only the substance while the male furnishes the vital principle. In other words, the body comes from woman, the soul from man.² Here we have the Christian doctrine of a soulless woman long before Christianity.³ Its primitive phallic origin is unconsciously pointed out as late as 1729 by the Rev. John Disney, vicar of St. Mary's in Nottingham, when he wrote of the phallus as the "receptacle of the manly soul."⁴

As this craving for supremacy spread, so as to include economic and political advantages, the conflict for dominance between "maleness" and "femaleness," between priest and priestess, became more acute and was transferred to the gods in the skies and our mythologies record the story of their wars.

The psychologic imperative thus developed was transferred to the Christian church in favor of the male supremacy and with the added force of institutional prestige and social suggestion, the cause of femininity was utterly crushed out. Only men could be gods, or priests: only men could be the viceregents of God in managing the affairs of His earthly government. Men created a head-god in their own image as a father. And so having wholly forgotten the original reasoning upon which the religious and political sex-distinctions are founded, we still have our activities controlled by the associated feeling-attitudes and the accompanying infantile mode of thinking. Having outgrown the supposed objective foundations for our androcentric customs, we invent new "justifications" to prevent the disturbance of our antiquated mental and social habits. The potency of these psychological imperatives may be better appreciated when we remember that they still prompt us to act contrary to our pro-

² *De Animalibus Generation*, Book II, Chap. IV, p. 738.

³ See *Woman, Church and State*, by Gage, p. 4.

⁴ *View of Ancient Laws against Immorality*, p. 187.

fessed democracy, contrary to our present sense of justice, and to stultify our intellect to the invention of absurd and irrelevant "reasons" to justify a predisposition resting only on an unrecognized subjective feeling-basis, against the acknowledgment of which we have a violent emotional resistance, which in many cases is transferred to the woman's movement as a whole.

Of course, other psychic factors were also concerned in the establishment of sex-supremacy. With the growth of reflective faculties, there came a consciousness of the more concealed sex-functioning of the female. Now the facts of parturition suggested inquiry into the mystery of impregnation and of gestation, and later some recognition of its importance. At this stage a new psychic factor must have entered, demanding its own influence according to its own imperative. An emotional resistance to male tyranny found in gestation a seeming justification and a potential gynocracy asserted itself, which, in spite of established natural disadvantage, secured occasional local supremacy. Probably in such cases the priestess found help toward her own supremacy in some localities in the fact of limited food supply, which by imposing a desire to limit progeny might make polyandry very expedient, and thus aid her in establishing herself as mistress of the social order. The natural advantage of the male, in carrying conspicuously the outward and visible sign of his divine powers, always afforded an advantage so long as there remained any influence, though remote and indirect, of the old phallic cults. This usually would insure ultimate male dominance through its more constant and more effective suggestion in the creation of the psycho-social imperatives.

Thus it appears that androcracy was a natural consequence of that mysticism of ignorance which synchronously produced phallic worship. The church at present is, of course, the beneficiary and successor of these primitive phallic rites, and the infantile mental methods upon which it was based. Therefore, it is only logical that the church should be using the same mystical ignorance of sex and its metaphysical interpretation and the extravagant exaggeration of sex-importance, to perpetuate priestly dominance of the popular thought toward a maintenance of the psychic imperative which still demands androcentric institutions.

The remedy for this is two-fold. Women should be educated up to that degree of self-consciousness based upon an objective estimate of social values, where they will support neither institutions nor religions which justify, sanctify, and support the old prejudice against their sex, grounded in the infantilism that produced sex-worship. And men as well as women must cast out of their minds all moral sentimentalism and theologic moral dogmas, with their accompaniment of cant and hypocrisy, as to these fundamental problems. As applied to sex problems this means an end to the religious "spiritualization" of sex, and the substitution of a rationalization of sex, founded upon objective studies. Only by outgrowing the infantile sense of values and the infantile intellectual processes upon which they are founded, can we attain a true sexual ethics and so refined a sense of justice as will abolish all sexual discrimination in religion, morals, economics or politics, and simultaneously develop mature modes of thinking.

TECHNIQUE OF PSYCHOANALYSIS

By SMITH ELY JELLIFFE

(Continued from page 199)

Steckel has used the phrase, "infantile criminal," to express this same period of the infantile development. The analyst should bear both of these expressions, "infantile perversions" and "infantile criminal," in mind, but he should not voice them. It does very little service in the initial stages of an analysis to tell the patient about his "perverse" or "criminal" tendencies. He will not understand, because in the early stages of analysis the patient is constantly thinking in conscious terms. He is as yet unacquainted with unconscious logic. It is only when the significance of unconscious activities get firmly fixed in the patient's mind that the analyst can utilize these terms to advantage. For this reason, and also because perhaps it represents a better mode of approach, it has been my habit to dwell less upon the "perversion" and more upon the evolution of the *sense of power* that goes on in the patient as he builds up values on the basis of his primary pleasure-receiving areas. After all the infantile criminal is only seeking for an expression of power. He is not a criminal until that power impulse forces him to a conflict with reality.

The striving for power is the most important symbol to keep in mind, because it will be seen that practically all the symbolizations which are pictured by the unconscious are being utilized in this way. Protagoras in the dialogue already quoted said that "we think alike concerning those things which are necessary for life." He is speaking of conscious thinking. This uniformity in unconscious impulse is even more striking. Inasmuch as breathing has satisfied oxygen needs, which oxygen-need satisfaction enables the body to live, breathing and all of the necessary muscular adaptations (respiratory libido in the psychoanalytic sense) become symbols of obtaining power in the psyche. Be-

cause the muscular adaptations for expulsion of the urine from the bladder succeed in keeping the individual alive, therefore these muscular adaptations (bladder erotic, bladder libido) also become symbols of power. Similarly, the need for the expulsion of wind or the expulsion of feces from the intestines may become an expression of power in unconscious symbolization. These acts are all necessary for living. Ergo they represent power. In psychoanalytic terms they represent the several partial libido trends. Each trend has its own king and kingdom. It is only when one king strives to usurp the rights of all the others that we can apply the term "perverse" or "infantile criminal."

Analysis, therefore, is to be utilized to trace the evolution of the individual to these infantile sources of power belief, or as we have already expressed it, to reconstruct the pattern of these partial libidos or partial strivings in their building up of the combined libido, which determines the individual's conduct.

Each and every one of these partial strivings must contain a portion of its initial energy concentrated on the primitive exhibition of its power.

It always remains necessary for the bladder to act, as well as the rectum, as well as all of the other parts of the body, and effectually—but in the gradual synthesis of the individual as a whole, and more particularly in his adaptation to society as a whole, the partial libidos, or the sense of power resident in an erotic satisfaction must be able to be withdrawn from the area involved and concentrated upon some other object, which other object, from the standpoint of the evolution of social consciousness, means the adaptation of the individual to his surroundings i. e., to reality. The mode by which these changes of direction of the libido take place is the central problem of what is designated repression. Repression therefore has for its function the locking up of energy—of libido—until such time as it may be used at a higher i. e., socially permitted level. It serves as a basis for fantasy.

It cannot be too strongly insisted upon that this process of repression is going on all the time below the levels of consciousness in the developing child; and that by the age of five, which age limit as has already been expressed is purely arbitrary, the

work of repression, so far as these primitive ego strivings are concerned, has resulted in creating a social animal. That is, antisocial trends can be satisfied in fantasy, rather than in reality. As Protagoras again has well said of the night dream, "Is it not because we lie still and do not act, that we can indulge our fancy?"

We shall see that the main work of analysis will ultimately center about the way in which the individual in his evolved ceremonials, that is to say in his everyday conduct, still endeavors to follow out in an infantile manner, this fantasy method of obtaining power, i. e., satisfaction. To illustrate—it should be remembered that illustrations in the early part of an exposition of this kind are rather dangerous, just as too comprehensive an explanation of the unconscious mechanisms given to the patient is disadvantageous in the beginning of an analysis. A certain patient was discussing with me, after four or five months of analysis, the reasons why she persistently wore certain colors. Several dreams had revealed the infantile method of obtaining power chiefly through what we shall later discuss under the heading of the "prostitution fantasy." In the actual discussion of the prostitution fantasy it was brought out how for centuries the social organism has endeavored to exclude the actual prostitute as dangerous. In the illustration I was further called upon to elaborate upon the various disguises which unconscious prostitution had elaborated in higher and lower walks of life, and various trends were shown illustrating the various ingenious protective devices by which the high grade prostitute, so to speak, was still excluded from the social group in many subtle ways. This led to the statement on the part of the patient, that she failed to see wherein she was excluded in any way because of her unconscious fantasy. We were not dealing in any sense with conscious prostitution nor conscious exclusion (I need hardly add that the patient was of the highest social and ethical development), but we were directing our attention to the analysis of the color sensations (eye erotic) as a means for obtaining power and were endeavoring to show how, by the evolution of color sensation satisfactions, as shown in dress, this particular individual strove unconsciously for a sense of power. She strove

not to be excluded from the attention of the community. In other words she utilized very striking colors to force herself upon the attention of her surroundings. The unconscious made sure that no one would fail to notice her. This we saw, in the discussion, was an unconscious attempt to insure the sense of power, which because of the likewise unconscious prostitution fantasy had resulted in a loss of power (i. e., unconscious sense of exclusion). The development of the color sense and the striking use of certain color combinations was therefore a protest on the part of the individual against the unexpressed and unconscious will of the community (reality principle of Freud), and the analysis resulted in showing to the patient how in her infantile period of development she had associated certain colors as representatives of the expression of power. We shall return to this later in the discussion of the dream.

Before dismissing the illustration entirely, however, I shall suggest that the use of "brown" by this particular patient was her present day esthetic evolution, which in the infantile one-to-five-year-old period had its origin in a fecal fantasy. The analysis was able to show step by step the evolution from the infantile sense of power obtained through the gastro-intestinal activities to the present day use of a color.

When the patient thoroughly comprehends what one means by the libido, which is attached to the various parts of the body, just referred to. When there is conviction that practically all of our present activities have originated from these primitive sources, the next point to take up is the tracing of the mechanisms by which the present evolutions have come to be. In other words they are ready to ask if there are any guiding principles which will enable them to trace the pathway taken in the evolution of these infantile libido strivings?

This part of the outlining of the principles of psychoanalysis is not so difficult for the patient to comprehend, nor is one liable to be met with any opposition, because there is very little difference of opinion among educated people that the chief goal of living may be reduced to the carrying out of two principles, i. e., that of self-preservation and of race perpetuation. There may be some difficulty in showing the individual that notwithstand-

ing our firmly grounded belief that these are the two important principles underlying all manifestations of conduct, that there is a very definite conflict between them going on in the individual, and it also becomes an extremely fascinating part of the psycho-analytic doctrine to develop how the male and female act somewhat differently in this unconscious controversy.

For purposes of illustration, one can, in fantasy, carry oneself back many millions of years, when one might say it was decided which principle should obtain the ascendancy, i. e., that of self-preservation or that of race perpetuation; whether the individual should live for himself alone, or whether in the language of the Scriptures "he who would gain his life must lose it." In other words individual death was conquered by the process of reproduction. Immortality was gained by sacrifice. Biologists can explain why it is that the individual cell could not keep on growing indefinitely; that if life was to survive in any organic form, it could not do so solely by getting bigger. Notwithstanding all the expediencies that an organic thing could build up, so that the food supply would be carried to all parts of the organism, bigness as a principle reached its limit. Bigness was not the principle which would insure perpetuation. The geologist, who looks back over the record of the earth's long career, sees rise before him pictures of enormous animals and enormous plants. Size, however, as a form of power, gave way to other principles. In the sea today there float enormous *Laminarias*, single-celled plants, hundreds of feet long. They are mute survivals of an old biological principle; but it was not through this principle of "individuality" that the higher forms of life came to be. The principle of individual loss, or death, was only overcome by the principle of reproduction, and hence one may reason that of the two principles, i. e., self-preservation or race perpetuation, speaking from the unconscious point of view, that of race perpetuation was much more imperative than that of self preservation and it conquered.

In the course of analysis this conflict between self-satisfaction, from a purely auto-erotic infantile point of view, and the larger one of race perpetuation, is constantly being presented. Auto-erotic symbolizations, be they epileptic fits, tics, hysterical

conversions, or what not, are often the outward signs of the struggle and the effort to adjust these antagonistic claims.

Having settled this question for a patient, as to the meaning of these two principles, especially in their unconscious bearings rather than in their conscious ones it now becomes important to show, or to trace how each principle is handled by each libido striving, or each partial libido trend; because it is highly important to have in mind that these partial trends are constantly working with both of these principles. For the sake of illustration let me put it in the form of questions. How does respiratory libido handle the food question? How does skin libido handle the problem of feeding? How is hunger satisfied by the urethral libido? Wherein does muscular libido obtain its nutritive gratification, etc.? If each striving had its own way, the child would not live, because after all only one libido area receives any actual power (satisfaction) from food, i. e., the gastrointestinal, speaking broadly. Auto-erotic satisfaction in the other areas must be repressed, and their individual libidos expressed in an attempt to obtain food through a transfer of their striving to some other area. Thus eye libido must learn that such and such an object is food; the muscle libido must be trained to know that such and such movements will obtain food; the ear libido must bend its energies to bargaining or to forms of adaptations that will make the others adaptive. If in the course of bargaining, for instance, there is urgent need for bladder or other form of auto-erotic satisfaction, the same must be suppressed for the main goal, and the gastro-intestinal power symbol satisfied.

The analysis of the various modes of repression of partial libido trends to bring about an adaptation to the self-preservation combined libido is very incomplete in psychoanalytic literature. Much attention has been devoted to what we have already seen is really the more important of the combined libido trends, i. e., race perpetuation or what might more narrowly be termed the sexual impulse. It is for this reason that one should pay particular attention to the development of the idea of the nutritive instinct in man notwithstanding, its secondary importance, for a great many of the resistances concerning money lie in this field.

We have therefore chosen to pass immediately to the consideration of the mode of analysis of the reproductive instinct. The first formulation of general principles here is what has been termed by Freud, the *Œdipus Complex*.

THE *ŒDIPUS* HYPOTHESIS

It has been my experience to be frequently asked by physicians, "What do you mean by the *Œdipus Complex*?" For a long time I was unable to answer the question, largely because it was asked in jest, but further by reason of the fact that it was impossible for me to phrase a reply in a way which I felt would be satisfactory to my questioner. When asked partly in jest I would frequently reply, "What is the Ehrlich side-chain theory?" This is an apparent evasion. To others I have said, "It is a mode of explaining why any individual finds it difficult to break away from old ways of doing things in order to acquire new and better ones." Again to others, my reply has been, "It is a restatement of the world-old struggle of conservatism versus progressivism." Such a method of handling what Freud has termed the "root-complex" of the neurosis will hardly suffice. Yet after all the answers just enumerated may be found satisfactory if elaborated.

In the first place the *Œdipus Complex* is solely an hypothesis, just as the Ehrlich side-chain theory is an hypothesis. It is a formulation to be used to handle the facts. Instead of terming it only the "root-complex" of the neurosis, however, I purpose giving it a much broader basis. It can be used as a unit of measurement for all psychological situations, not only for those "variations which are only perceived when they become great or inconvenient," and hence called abnormal, but for every normal psychical activity as well.

Just as we use a foot-rule to measure all space relations; a unit of time for all time relations, so the *Œdipus* hypothesis can be used as a unit for the comprehending of psychical situations. It is the only unit which has proved itself valid for all psychical phenomena, be they what intellectualists call normal or abnormal. I think I may say that practically every philosophical hypothesis, save pragmatism, has neglected what are called pathological

data, overlooking the fact that pathological does not mean of a different, qualitative, nature, but simply a variant which must be measured by the same standards as that which is called normal.

In this connection one may again turn to that ancient sophist Protagoras for the first statement of a sound pragmatism. In his dialogue with Morosophus on the perception of truth, Protagoras closes an eloquent peroration with the question: "Do you know Xanthias the son of Glaucus?"

Morosophus: Yes, but he seemed to me a very *ordinary* man and quite unfit to aid in such inquiries.

Protagoras: To me he seemed quite wonderful and a great proof of the truth I have maintained. For the wretch was actually unable to distinguish red from green, the color of the grass from that of blood! You may imagine how he dressed, and how his taste was derided. But it was his eye, and not his taste, that was at fault. I questioned him closely and am sure he could not help it. He simply saw colors differently. How and why I was not able to make out. But it was from his case and others like it, but less startling, that I learned that truth and reality are to each man what appears to him. For the differences, I am sure, exist, even though they are not noticed unless they are very great and inconvenient.

Morosophus: But surely Xanthias was diseased, and his judgments about colors are of no more importance than those of a madman.

Protagoras: You do not get rid of the difficulty by calling it madness and disease. And how would you define the essential nature of madness and disease?

Morosophus: I am sure I do not know. You should ask Asklepios.

To which Protagoras remarks: "Ah! he is one of those gods I have never been able to meet."

One does not get rid of difficulties by calling them abnormal. Giving them this appellation does not explain them. Hence the Œdipus hypothesis may be utilized to analyze everybody's activities, not those of the neurotic alone. To say that only the neurotic has to deal with an Œdipus fantasy is absurd; everybody does: but how? The way the individual handles his Œdi-

pus fantasy; how it has evolved from its infantile stages, this is what determines whether he shall be termed neurotic or not.

What then is the Œdipus hypothesis? For the sake of historical completeness it may be recalled that it received its name from the drama of Œdipus Rex, a mythological theme in great favor among the Greeks of the Epic period. The psychoanalyst should read the various renderings of it. It is fully treated psychoanalytically in "The Myth of the Birth of the Hero"¹ by Rank, also in the same author's "Incest Motive," both of which works have been mentioned.

To the philistine the story simply means that Œdipus killed his father and married his mother; but it implies infinitely more than this. It is the psychical elaboration of an enormously important part of a biological instinct.

Freud has shown in his "Three Contributions to the Sexual Theory"² that on rigid analysis the instinct of reproduction reduces itself to the choice of a proper *object*—the object choice; and of the proper *aim*, i. e., the reproductive act. To satisfy the first requirement an individual of the opposite sex must be the libido object. This sounds so trite as to hardly require stating, yet the merest superficial acquaintance with human as well as infrahuman activities reveals how much variation of attraction exists in a direction away from the consciously obvious heterosexual object.

The second requirement is successfully met with when the partial libido trends already discussed on page 196, become united to successfully establish the primacy of the genital zone. The variations from this equally obvious goal are also so frequent that the observant inquirer is struck with amazement at the various faulty adjustments of what is so frequently considered a "natural" function.

We are now speaking solely of mechanisms which have been laid down for many million years and which are instinctively and unconsciously forming, but, it must be recalled, they are extremely variable, in their external modifications when it comes to their permitted socially-controlled and consciously-guided activities.

¹ Monograph Series, No. 18.

It is to this broad reproductive instinct, in all of its conscious and unconscious manifestations, that Freud has applied the term sexual. In this series of articles on the technique of psychoanalysis, sexual means any human contact by means of any sensory area with the object of the same or of the opposite sex, which has productive creation for its purpose, be it concretely in the form of a child, or symbolically as an invention, artistic production, or other type of mutually creative product. It does not apply to those contacts which have purely nutritive or self-preservation instinct behind it. And it does not apply solely to genital contacts.

Thus it might be stated, though such a statement might seem to be paradoxical that prostitution is not really sexual. Viewed in a certain light its purpose is purely nutritive. Hence it has come to be stigmatized because it utilizes the love principle for purposes of gain, and stands as a symbol of the destruction of society rather than that of its upbuilding. If in biblical phrases, "the love of money is the root of all evil" then prostitution symbolizes that root, and as later will be pointed out it represents in its pure type chiefly an infantile anal-erotic complex. It is a satisfaction of unconscious hate rather than of love in terms of the *Œdipus* hypothesis.

The *Œdipus* hypothesis then attempts to establish some criterion, or group of criteria, by which human conduct may be valued as it looks forward to ultimate social or pragmatic truth, or goodness. It first directs attention to the biological trend of getting away from the type represented by the parent of the same sex, to a getting toward the type represented by the parent of the opposite sex. Without this biological direction of libido, no concrete social structure is possible. It is not father hate and mother love for the boy, and vice versa for the girl, in terms of conscious psychology, as is so often said by the critics. The *Œdipus* hypothesis has nothing whatever to do with conscious psychology, any more than the chemical formulæ of the fats in butter have to do with milking a cow. A knowledge of these formulæ for fats may prove the ultimate basis for the valuation of a herd of cows, just as the application of the *Œdipus* formulæ will permit of the comprehension of the acts of a family and thus determine their social value.

So-called shrewd practical observers may make excellent estimates of cows as well as of citizens, but when it comes to correcting the mistakes, in order to get shrewder and more practical observations, some measuring instruments are needed. Hence psychoanalysis utilizes the Œdipus instrument of precision.

In obtaining the full family history the analyst is getting the material from which a proper estimate of the evolution of the patient's psyche may be gathered. This it must be remembered is the conscious estimate of the patient's relations to the members of his family.

(To be continued)

TRANSLATION

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF PSYCHOANALYSIS FOR THE MENTAL SCIENCES

BY DR. OTTO RANK AND DR. HANNS SACHS

OF VIENNA

AUTHORIZED ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY DR. CHARLES R. PAYNE

OF WADHAMS, N. Y.

"Car tous les hommes désirent d'être heureux, cela sans exception. Quelques différents moyens qu'ils y emploient, ils tendent tous à ce but. Ce qui fait que l'un va à la guerre, et que l'autre n'y va pas, c'est ce même désir qui est dans tous les deux accompagné de différentes vues. La volonté ne fait jamais la moindre démarche que vers cet objet. C'est le motif de toutes les actions, de tous les hommes, jusqu'à ceux qui se tuent et qui se pendent."—Pascal: *Pensees sur L'Homme*.

PREFACE

In the following pages, which take up the applicability and significance of psychoanalysis for the mental sciences, the subject can be treated in only the briefest form: neither its evolution nor the extensive body of facts on which its conclusive force rests, can be considered. The degree, however, in which the particular mental sciences are treated by us bears no relation whatever to the cultural importance of these but only to the number of points of contact with psychoanalysis which have thus far been demonstrated. This is determined on the one hand by the share which the unconscious has in the mental products of humanity, on the other hand, by the comparative youth of our science and further by external and accidental influences.

Thus, our attention was directed principally to the outlook for the future in which the question of method which will be applicable to the stating and solution of the problems seemed the most important. In the endeavor to carry out this principal object, we sought to supplement our study of the individual problems, the elaboration of which we have striven to further

in the magazine *Imago* edited by us under the direction of Professor Freud.

Instead of interrupting the text by particular citations and references to the literature, we refer here once and for all to the fundamental writings of Freud (ten volumes have appeared from F. Deuticke in Vienna and S. Karger in Berlin) as well as to the compilations and periodicals edited under his direction, in which the articles belonging to our subject and the other psychoanalytic literature are to be found.

THE AUTHORS

VIENNA,
Easter, 1913

TABLE OF CONTENTS

- I. The Unconscious and its Forms of Expression.
- II. Myth and Legend Investigation.
- III. Religion.
- IV. Ethnology and Linguistics.
- V. Esthetics and Psychology of Artists.
- VI. Philosophy, Ethics and Law.
- VII. Pedagogy and Characterology.

CHAPTER I

THE UNCONSCIOUS AND ITS FORMS OF EXPRESSION

The foundation on which the whole of psychoanalysis rests is the theory of the unconscious. Under this, however, is not to be understood a term derived from abstract thought nor merely an hypothesis created with the aim of establishing a philosophic system; with the significance, for example, which Eduard von Hartmann has given the word, psychoanalysis possesses no connection at all. The negative peculiarity of the phenomenon appearing in the term, namely, the absence of the quality of consciousness, is indeed the most essential and most characteristic one, but not, however, the only one. We are already familiar with a whole series of positive distinguishing features which differentiate the unconscious psychic material from the rest, the conscious and foreconscious.

An idea which at a given moment belongs to the content of consciousness of an individual, can in the next moment have disappeared; others, emerging later, have appeared in its place.

Nevertheless, the idea still retains a permanent relation to the conscious mental life, for it can be brought back again by some kind of connected association chain without the necessity of a new sense perception; that is to say, in the interim, the idea was removed from the conscious mental life but still remained accessible to the mental processes. Such ideas, which indeed lack the quality of consciousness, the latter being every time recoverable however, we call the foreconscious and distinguish this most explicitly from the real unconscious.

The real unconscious ideas are not, like the foreconscious ideas, temporarily separated from the conscious mental life, but are permanently excluded from it; the power to reënter consciousness, or stated more exactly, the normal waking consciousness of the subject, these ideas lack completely. As the state of consciousness changes, so also does its condition of receptivity. After such transformations as are brought about, for example, by the condition known to neurologists as "condition seconde" and also by hypnosis and to a certain extent also by sleep, there becomes accessible to the subject a flood of psychic material, phantasies, memories, wishes, etc., which was until that moment unknown to him. That these products are occasioned by the change in consciousness is with some of these, for example memories, excluded *à priori*. With others, the conclusion may be reached from observing their effects that they must have been previously present in the unconscious.

In everything which comes to view from the unconscious on such occasions, experience has shown the constant repetition of certain common characteristics. To these characteristics, belong in the first place a world of affect of uncommonly high intensity and further a persistent attempt to encroach on the conscious mental life; this encroachment is explained by the principle that every affect and the idea invested by it has a natural tendency to appropriate as great a part of the mental life as possible as a consequence of those affective forces. If to every state of consciousness, there corresponds a definite condition for the admission or rejection of ideas, then this condition can be imposed and executed by nothing else than an energy acting in psychic affairs which excludes from consciousness the ideas which dis-

please it or represses those ideas already there. The effect of a force is counteracted only by another equally strong or superior force opposed to it; the psychic processes which we can observe are thus the results of dynamic relations which are to be inferred from them. We have before us the picture of a strict gate-keeper who slams the door in the faces of uninvited guests. Since an affect which is present exercises not a momentary but a lasting activity, it is also not destroyed by a single repulse. Rather, there must be established a perpetual frontier guard; that is, in other words, a permanent interaction of forces, as a result of which, a certain psychic tension becomes inseparable from our mental life. That energy, the function of which is to protect consciousness from the invasion of the unconscious, we call, according as it appears in aggressive or defensive form, repression or resistance.

We have witnessed a conflict between two psychic forces and must now ask ourselves whence the hostility between these forces arises. To what peculiarities, do the unconscious ideas owe the fact that the quality of consciousness is withheld from them with such stubbornness? Wherein rests their incompatibility with the other psychic forces?

It might at first be open to question whether there are such general characteristics. The exclusion from conscious mental life depends, as we have seen, upon the attitude of consciousness present in such a case and as this attitude varies, the unconscious must likewise change too, quite apart from the individual difference of the content of consciousness conditioned upon differences of experience. On the contrary, we may refer to the fact that the fundamental tendencies belonging to the conscious mental life are as a whole constant and change only slowly and unnoticeably from epoch to epoch. In their conception of the external world, the members of a civilized society hold the essentials in common, no matter whether this conception ultimately centers in a religious, moral or philosophical view of the world. In spite of all the progress in the control of nature, the human race has developed so little in regard to mind during thousands of years that we may consider the whole of civilized humanity and also that of antiquity as a great unit. The important transformations

we will become acquainted with in the individual investigations; in the collective picture, these transformations recede, especially if we compare the picture with that of those who stand outside of civilized society. The position of primitive man, of the so-called savage, toward the external world is fundamentally different from ours; further, in the relation between conscious and unconscious which exists in his mental life, important deviations may be conjectured.

Thus in spite of the great individual variety of the unconscious, it is not arbitrary and lawless but definitely established with regular, constantly recurring characteristics which we must learn to recognize so far as they have already been investigated.

Our first question will naturally concern the origin of the unconscious. Since the unconscious stands completely foreign and unknown to the conscious personality, the first impulse would be to deny connection with consciousness in general. This is the manner in which the folk-belief has ever treated it. The bits of the unconscious which were visible in abnormal mental states passed as proof of "being possessed," that is, they were conceived as expressions of a strange individual, of a demon, who had taken possession of the patient. We, who can no longer rely on such supernatural influences, must seek to explain the facts psychologically. The hypothesis that a primary division of the psychic life exists from birth, contradicts the experience of the continual conflict between the two groups of forces, since if the separation were present from the beginning, the danger of a shifting of boundaries would not exist. The only possible assumption, which is further confirmed by experience, is that the separation does not exist *à priori* but originates only in the course of time. This demarcation of the boundary line must be a process which ends before the complete attainment of the normal level of culture; thus, we may say it begins in earliest childhood and has found a temporary termination about the time of puberty. The unconscious originates in the childhood of man, which circumstance affords the explanation for most of its peculiarities.

We recognize in childhood a forerunner of the age which is capable of reason and this of course is a right view in many re-

lations. Besides that part of the mental life which we carry over from childhood into later life, there remains however another part, the real childish, with which we afterwards have nothing more to do and which we therefore forget. Only thus are explained the great discrepancies which every person displays in his childhood memories and these exactly at a time in which he knew quite well how to consider and estimate events. Almost everyone remembers of his earliest years of childhood only isolated details of indifferent scenes while he has totally forgotten those incidents which were the most important at the time. The purely infantile mental powers which are not embodied in the consciousness of the adult cannot however be lost. In psychic affairs as in the physical world, the law of conservation of energy holds good; the infantile, which was repressed from the conscious mental life, did not disappear but formed the nucleus about which the unconscious mental life crystallized.

In what point does the adult differ so fundamentally from the child that the mental states of those developmental epochs have become quite useless for him? That this point is the sexuality will probably awaken universal contradiction, for sexuality normally begins, we are assured, with puberty and can thus create no typical infantile psychic phenomena.

The fact of normal childish sexuality, among forms of activity of which, only the onanism of the suckling may be mentioned here, is so easily demonstrable by everyone who comes into close contact with children, such as physicians, nurses and parents, that their stubborn denial of this phenomenon cannot be considered as an objective opinion but only as the result of just that repression process which will not allow to be brought again before consciousness the elements of the ego which have become first worthless and then obstructive to its own development. It would be very surprising if so important a source of affect as the instincts belonging to the domain of sexuality, which we class together under the general term "libido," first made their appearance suddenly, upon the attainment of a certain age. As a matter of fact, the libido has been present from the very beginning, only before puberty the phenomena of the instincts belonging to it find outlet neither in the form of sexual expression of

the adult nor in a simple unified direction; rather, each component instinct strives toward its own goal independently of the others; this aim has no similarity to the later sexual aim, the sexual act.

Also, during childhood, we distinguish different phases of development, but of these, only the most important can be mentioned here. The first phase embraces that period when the child, in its knowledge of the external world, has not yet acquired the conception of its own personality as something differentiated from the world. In this period, the child seeks to gain sexual pleasure on its own body (autoerotism). Besides the genitals, all possible parts of the body are taken into consideration, especially the lip zone, which can be stimulated by "pleasure sucking" and the anal zone which can be stimulated by the retention of fecal masses.

The decisive transition point is formed by a stage which is normally interposed between the period of autoerotic activity and that of love of an object; out of consideration for the pathological fixation of this transition stage to be observed later, we designate it as "narcissism." Narcissism is characterized by the fact that the libido, which, in contrast to the ego instincts, finds from the very beginning its autoerotic gratification on various parts of the body, having now become unified, has for the time found its object in its own self considered as a whole. In a certain measure, the man is narcissistic even if he has found external objects for his libido; the degree of this attitude is of tremendous significance for the development of the character and personality.

The next phase shows the "love of an object" but this love develops under peculiar conditions. The significance of an exclusively sexual organ comes to the genitals only with the later evolution which concludes with puberty. The exclusive sexual aim of normal, sexually mature persons connected with this sexual evolution does not yet come into consideration; in its place, there appear according to the instinctive tendencies, various forms of gratification: sexual curiosity and pleasure from undressing, the infliction and endurance of pain, etc. Thus, that condition, which, occurring in unchanged persistence in an adult

would constitute a perversion (exhibitionism, peeping, sadism, masochism) forms an expression of the normal sexuality of childhood.

Also, the sexual objects appearing in this second phase of infantilism are essentially different from those of the adult. The relatively minor importance of the genitals for the sexual relation directed toward other persons and the ignorance of the differences in structure and function of the male and female sexual apparatus, render it impossible for the child to take into consideration the distinction of sex in the consummation of his erotic relations. Further, apart from this fact, the child's love is most frequently directed toward those persons who would not be so thought of by mature cultured people, namely, the members of his own family, especially the parents and also the nurses as substitutes for the parents.

He who takes offence at the statement that the first inclinations of a person are regularly incestuous, should be reminded that the childish eroticism, even if it is ever so strong in affect, is accustomed to express itself only with limited aim in the harmless form of affection. For the child growing up in the bosom of the family, other relations of the same intimacy are inconceivable and also for the parents, it has ever been considered the most beautiful privilege that the first affection of their children should be directed toward them. Soon, the child begins to show a preference for one of the parents and indeed usually, since the attraction of the sexes applies also to the relation between parents and children, for that parent of the opposite sex, by whom it is itself considered with especial tenderness. With the other parent, often also with the brothers and sisters, the child easily comes into a relation of rivalry, since it wishes to share with no one; besides love, there then appears hostility and the fervent wish for the elimination of the rival.

Then, in the period of puberty, the genital zone attains its primacy, the individual instincts lose their independence and arrange themselves for the purpose of attaining the normal sexual aim. Certain ones, as the instinct for mastery in the male, find their gratification in the sexual act itself; others, for example, the instinct for looking (*Schautrieb*), by affording the

forepleasure, serve the purpose of creating the tension which prepares for the sexual act and brings about the end-pleasure. In addition to the renunciation of the isolated gratification of these partial instincts, the erotic inclination toward the members of the family must also be abandoned; sexuality adapted to a new aim is demanded; further, another object outside the family must be found, all of which transformations normally come to successful accomplishment after some groping attempts.

Thus, for him who has puberty behind him, sexuality is nothing new; further, he must also forego some of the hitherto customary modes of gratification, in particular the sexual pleasure derived from his own body as object and the incestuous fixation on his nearest relatives. If one of the component instincts was especially strongly developed, it will not receive sufficient satisfaction under the new regime.

Just as little as the libido appears in the mental life as something new, even so little can it again disappear from the same. Every striving toward the attainment of pleasure is indestructible. The libido can change its form under the influence of internal or external forces but the instinct will constantly be nourished from its old sources. If, under such a change, a gain of pleasure is sacrificed in part or in whole, because in the changed form, the instinct no longer finds adequate possibility for gratification, this instinct nevertheless still continues its existence and with its impetuous demands for the old pleasure, becomes a dangerous enemy of the new order of things.

The result of this relation would be a never-ending conflict; consciousness, which in the service of the control of reality, should be directed toward impressions coming from the external world, might be completely engrossed in the endopsychic perception of this struggle and the psychic economy permanently disturbed. Only the repression of the overpowering forms of gratification of instinct from the visual field of consciousness makes it possible to keep consciousness open for sense perceptions and the mind in equilibrium. The mechanisms employed in this task we shall soon examine.

The phenomena which we have thus far recognized form only the nucleus of the unconscious, not in any way its whole

extent. Indeed, in no field is so much renunciation expected of a man in the course of his development as in his sexuality and scarcely anywhere is this renunciation harder to carry through; in addition, still other wishes left permanently unfulfilled, even though arising from the pure ego instincts, reinforce and interact with this material to form the content of the unconscious. Often we are confronted with the necessity of recognizing an unpleasant reality in which our wishfulfillment finds no place and with the further necessity of making our peace with this stern reality. Now that is a task which the normal person is regularly able to accomplish in his consciousness. But with the appearance of the need to escape an especially painful conflict, the attractive force of that first repression process may work so enticingly that this recent denial finds its solution in the same manner, through repression. With the exception of those cases where the original repression process had not proceeded smoothly, this later repression also succeeds. As a result of failure in this repression, the neurosis makes its appearance. But also with healthy individuals, under the favoring coöperation of the sleeping state, the unfulfilled wishes of the present find connection with those of childhood and from this union arises the structure of the dream. Since every person is not only a dreamer but also in some one part, at least, closely related to the neurotic, perhaps in the anxiety-affects which he suffers, perhaps only in the production of the little mistakes of daily life, the assumption is justified that the normal individual also removes by repression a part of his mental conflicts, especially those which invite this fate by their resemblance to the conflicts of childhood.

We turn now to that group of forces which cause the repression. One of these forces, we have already recognized, namely, the demand arising from the organic changes occurring before and during puberty, as a result of which, the psychic primacy of the genitals corresponding to the bodily development and the unification of the component instincts directed toward the activity of these organs, became necessary. The weightiest factor, however, is the demand which the cultural environment imposes on the growing individual, to which he cannot submit himself without giving up his infantile wish-goals. The repression indicates

the measure of the sacrifice which the cultural development of a community enjoins on its members. The means by which the cultural demands make themselves evident to the adolescent are manifold. By far the most important is the influence of the objects of the infantile love-choice, the education by the parents or their representatives.

Here must be mentioned some of the instinct-mechanisms by which the successful division between conscious and unconscious is first rendered possible. Where love and hate, both directed toward the same object, are opposed to each other, the weaker one must sink into the unconscious. This ambivalent relation may also be shown with certain instincts which are composed of a pair of component opposites (for example, sadism and masochism). Since the two contrary instincts cannot exist side by side, the stronger assumes the initiative and crowds the weaker into the unconscious.

In all cases, the effect of the ambivalence is to cause the victorious member, in order to assure its supremacy, to show an unusual intensity in the conscious mental life (reaction formation); to this reaction formation the instinct under subjection also affords a contribution of energy since the possibility of direct expression was taken from it by the repression. Still more important for the purposes of civilization is the ability of many instincts to change their modes of gratification by accepting another aim for winning of pleasure in place of the one previously enjoyed; the two modes of gratification must be similar and between the old and new aims there must be an associative connection. In this way, it is possible to divert at least a portion of the gross sexual instincts of the child to higher cultural aims (sublimation). The portion not divertible, so far as it may not be directly gratified, falls under the repression.

Because certain desires are repressed, it does not follow that a wish which is unconscious and cut off from direct affect-expression, can develop no further activity; on the contrary, the repressed wish exercises a determining influence on the most important processes of the mental life as far as this is possible during the condition of being excluded from consciousness. In this matter, there are two points which need a further elucidation:

first, by what mechanisms does the unconscious succeed in becoming active without offending against the condition imposed by the repression? Second, in what psychical products do unconscious processes or those which are directed by the unconscious, have an especially large share?

The mechanisms by which the repressed instinctive impulses and unconscious wishes succeed in breaking through the repression and influencing the actions and thought of the civilized man in his relation to reality serve collectively, as the nature of the conflict with the unconscious demands, for the distortion of the unconscious and its compromise with consciousness. This distortion becomes developed to various degrees according to the stage of repression, the mental status of the individual and the degree of civilization of the race; in short, corresponding to the prevailing relation of consciousness to the unconscious; while this conflict between consciousness and the unconscious is going on, it produces various valuable compromise products in social relations. As psychoanalysis learns to consider the ideational life, in general, as counterplay of the instinctive life, so the individual mental mechanisms of distortion and compromise formation correspond to the different possibilities of the fate of instinct; among these possible results, we recognize besides the repression, still others, especially transformations of instincts (such as the inversion into the opposite). We have now to devote special attention to those processes which, unlike the repression, do not find an end with the banishment into the unconscious, but send substitute structures into consciousness which are derived from the original sources of affect. This fate may befall both the instinct in question and its sublimated representative. For example, we recognize in the mental field the mechanism of biased projection, by means of which an inner, unbearable perception is projected outward; another example is the mechanism of "splitting into parts" (dissociation) which separates into the constituent parts the elements usually united in the unconscious, especially contradictions (of ambivalence, contrary meaning, etc.); this mechanism of splitting makes contrasts in order to render possible the conscious acceptance of the separate impulses which have become unbearable to one another. On the

other hand, we have what you might call the introacting mechanisms of the real repression and the condensation (contamination) which seek to save or blend the elements which have become unbearable to consciousness, especially contrasts. Finally, there corresponds to the inversion of instinct, the representation by the opposite, in which a shocking unconscious element is usually represented by its opposite excessively emphasized in consciousness. Other mechanisms exercise a distorting and compromise-forming influence by the inversion of affect, by the displacement of the affect from the important to the non-essential, and lastly by the shifting of sensations or the perception of these from shocking to innocent places (displacement from below upward).

While the mechanisms named, even if acting under the biased, distorting compulsion of the conscious censor, nevertheless, work according to their own laws which are inherent in the unconscious because of its close relation to the instinctive life, still there are other influences, proceeding from the logical and formal demands of consciousness, which compel still further modifications of the unconscious material. In this group belongs, first of all, the so-called secondary elaboration of the dream, which seeks to adapt to the demands of the fully conscious psychic judgment the unconscious material which is in certain parts too much distorted, in other parts too little distorted, and therefore at first, unintelligible, defective or too shocking. In this over-elaboration and arrangement, isolated elements of the unconscious, which are no longer intelligible, are afterwards given a logical motive in favor of the connection striven after; in the course of development, these elements often, indeed usually, receive a new, as one might say, systematized sense. This kind of secondary elaboration, namely, the mechanism of rationalization or systematization proceeding from consciousness, which is of far reaching importance for the origin of the psychoanalytic understanding, especially of the great achievements of civilization, represents an appropriate supplement to the mechanisms of the unconscious by arranging and elaborating the biased, distorted unconscious contributions of the phantasy and mental activity to new, useful connections. The knowledge of this process (rationalization) and

the possibility of its reduction to the impelling forces of the unconscious, permit psychoanalysis to hold fast to the principle of over-determination of all psychic phenomena, so far as the unconscious shares in them, even where a logical, satisfactory meaning and a fully conscious understanding seems to render any further explanation of a phenomenon superfluous and excluded. So little, however, as the knowledge of the conscious part in itself alone, affords the full understanding of a mental performance, even so little may the consideration of the unconscious motives by themselves alone exhaust the full significance; still, the unconscious motives alone render intelligible the genesis of the mental production and also the process of rationalization itself in its relation to the denial of the repressed material.

A further, formal factor, to which the unconscious must conform in its sometime entrance into consciousness, is the attempt at dramatic form which appears in the culturally valuable performances, especially the artistic ones, not less plainly than in the dream life. It is conceivable without further discussion, that the material in which an unconscious impulse manifests itself, must not only influence the definite form but also the content in a certain sense, that thus, for example, the poet must bring the same feeling to expression differently from the painter; the philosopher, the same thoughts differently from the writer of myths. And further, the temporary state of mind will make itself evident in the representation so that the inspired religious writer will afford different expression to the same emotions than the matter-of-fact expositor; and the lunatic represent the same impulse differently from the dreamer.

A final means of expression of the repressed material, which, on account of its especial suitability for disguising the unconscious material and its adaptability (compromise formation) to new contents of consciousness, finds great favor, is the symbol. We understand under this term, a special kind of indirect representation which is distinguished by certain peculiarities from the closely related figures of speech, such as simile, metaphor, allegory, allusion and other forms of pictorial representation of thought material (after the manner of the rebus). In a measure, the symbol represents an ideal union of all these means of ex-

pression: it is a representative pictorial substitute expression for something hidden, with which it has perceptible characteristics in common or is associatively joined by internal connections. Its essence consists in the possession of two or more meanings, as it has itself also arisen by a kind of condensation, an amalgamation of individual characteristic elements. The tendency of the symbol from the ideal toward the evident puts it close to primitive thought; by this relationship, symbolization belongs essentially to the unconscious but, as compromise formation, lacks in no way the conscious determinants which condition in various degrees symbol formation and symbol interpretation.

If one wishes to understand the many-layered strata and arrangement of symbol interpretations and gain a knowledge of symbols, he must apply himself to a genetic consideration of the same. He will thereby learn that the symbol formation is not, as its multiplicity would lead one to expect, arbitrary and dependent on individual differences, but that it follows definite laws and leads to widely distributed, universal, human structures which are typical as regards time, place, sex and race distinctions, and indeed the great languages. Concerning the typical, general human significance, the esthetician Dilthey says: "If one understands under a natural symbol, the pictorial material which stands in close and constant relation to an inner state, then the comparative consideration shows, that on the basis of our psychological nature, a circle of natural symbols exists for dream and delusion, as for speech and poetry. Since the most important relations of reality, in general, are related and the heart of man in general the same, fundamental myths pervade humanity. Such symbols are: the relation of the father to his children, the relation of the sexes, war, robbery and victory."

The investigation of typical symbol forms and the restoration of the forgotten meanings of these by the collaboration of various assisting sciences (as history of civilization, linguistics, ethnography, investigation of myths, etc.) has scarcely been attempted as yet. The best studied psychoanalytically and also the first to be verified by the history of civilization is that great and highly important group of symbols which serve to represent sexual material and erotic relations, the sexual symbols as we are ac-

customed to call them. The prevalence of sexual symbolic meanings is, however, not explained merely by the individual experience that no instinct is subjected to the cultural suppression to the same extent and so withdrawn from direct gratification as the sexual instinct built up from the most diverse "perverse" components, the mental domain of which, the erotic, is therefore susceptible of, and in need of, extensive indirect representation. A far greater importance for the genesis of symbolism is afforded by the fact that to the sexual organs and functions, in primitive civilizations, an importance which is quite inconceivable to our minds, was attributed; of this difference, we can gain a closer idea from the results of ethnographic investigation and the remains saved in cult and myth.¹ To this sexual exaggeration of primitive man and to the limitation which at some time became necessary, we owe the foundations of civilization, just as we are indebted for its further improvement to the continued sublimation of individual component instincts which have been ungratified and become repressed. As an example, when we to-day find ploughing and creation of fire applied by a dreamer as a completely unconscious symbol of the sexual act, the study of the history of civilization teaches that these performances have originally really represented the sexual act, that is, were invested with the same libidinous energies, eventually also with the same accompanying ideas as these. A classical example of this is afforded by the fire creation in India, which is there represented under the picture of coition. In the Rig Veda (III, 29, 1), we read:

"This is the fire-drill; the generator (the male rubbing stick) is prepared! Bring the generatrix (the female rubbing stick); we will twirl the fire after the old style. In the two rubbing sticks dwells the judge of nature (Agni) like the fruit of love which has been introduced into the pregnant women. . . . In her who has spread out her legs enters as a herald (the male stick)." (After L. v. Schröder's translation in "Mysterium und Mimus im Rig Veda," page 260). When the Indian lights a fire, he offers

¹ Compare R. Payne Knight, *Le culte du Priape*, Brussels, 1883, and Dulaure, *Die Zeugung in Glauben, Sitten und Bräuchen der Völker*, German translation and amplification by Krauss, Reiskel und Ihm.

a holy prayer which refers to a myth. He seizes a stick of wood with the words:² "You are the birthplace of fire," lays thereon two blades of grass. "You are the two testicles," thereupon, he seizes the wood lying underneath: "You are Urvaci." He then smears the wood with butter, saying, "You are strength," places it then on the wood lying on the ground and says: "You are Pururavas," etc. Thus, he considers the wood lying on the ground with its little hollow as the representation of the conceiving goddess and the upright stick as the sexual member of the impregnating god. Concerning the diffusion of this idea, the well known ethnologist, Leo Frobenius, says: "The fire-drilling as it is to be found among most peoples represents thus among the ancient Indians the sexual act. I may be permitted to point out in this connection that the ancient Indians were not alone in this conception. The South Africans have exactly the same view. The wood lying on the ground is called by them 'female shame,' the upright piece, 'the male.'³ Schinz has explained this in his time for some races and since then the wide diffusion of this view in South Africa, and for example among the races living in the East, has been found." (*Das Zeitalter des Sonnengottes*, Berlin, 1904, page 338 ff.)

Between the two extreme stages, that of actual identification (in custom) and that of unconscious application in symbol (in dream), lie other, more or less conscious, symbolic meanings, which, in the degree in which they have become unrecognizable, have been precipitated in speech. Further plain reference to the sexual symbolic significance of fire-lighting, we find in the myth of the stealing of fire by Prometheus, the sexual symbolic foundation of which, the mythologist, Kuhn (1859) has recognized. Like the Prometheus saga, other traditions also bring into connection the creation by the heavenly fire, the lightning. Thus, O. Gruppe⁴ says concerning the saga of Semele, out of whose burning body, Dionysos was born, it is "probably a very scanty remnant of the old legendary type which had reference to the

² According to Schröder, the oldest ritual texts, the Jajurweden, already introduce this formula.

³ In Hebrew, the expressions for male and female signify: the borer and the hollowed.

⁴ Griech. Mythol. u. Relig. Gesch., Vol. II (Munich, 1906), p. 1415 ff.

kindling of the sacrificial fire" and its name "perhaps originally meant the tablet or table, the under rubbing stick (compare Hesych, *σεμελη τράπεζα* . . .). In the soft wood of the latter, the spark ignited, in the birth of which the 'mother' is burnt up." Further, in the mythically adorned story of the birth of Alexander the Great, we read that his mother Olympia, in the night before her wedding, dreamed that a mighty thunderstorm enveloped her and the lightning penetrated her womb in a flame, from which, a furious fire burst out and disappeared in farther and farther consuming flames⁵ (Droysen, *History of Alexander the Great*, page 69). Here belong further the famous fable of the magician, Virgil, who took vengeance on a prudish beauty by extinguishing all the fire of the city and allowing the citizens to light their new fire only on the genitals of the woman exposed naked to view; opposed to this commandment for fire-lighting, stand other traditions in the sense of the Prometheus saga as prohibitions of the same, as the legend of Amor and Psyche, which forbids the inquisitive wife scaring away the nocturnal lover by striking a light or the tale of Periander whom his mother visited by night under the same conditions as unrecognized beloved. Our present-day speech has also preserved much of this symbolism: we speak of the "light of life," of "glowing with love," of "being infatuated" in the sense of being in love and call the beloved, "flame."

Corresponding to the lower rubbing stick then, every fireplace, altar, hearth, oven, lamp, etc., is a female symbol. Thus, for example, in the Satan's mass, the genitals of an undressed recumbent woman serve as an altar. To the Greek Periander, was sent according to Herodotus (V, 92) by his dead wife Melissa, a divination with the averment, he has put the bread in a cold oven, which was a sure omen to him "since he slept upon the corpse of Melissa." The bread is here compared to the phallus; according to the interesting works of Höfler, namely, that concerning bread images ("Gebildbrote"), our present-day rolls

⁵ Similarly, Hecuba, pregnant with Paris, dreamed that she brought a burning brand into the world which set the whole city on fire. (Compare in this connection the burning of the Temple of Ephesus in the night of the birth of Alexander.)

and pretzels imitate the phallus (compare *Zentralblatt für Anthropologie*, etc., 1905, p. 78). But the substance produced in the bake-oven, the bread, is also compared with that created in the mother's body, the child, as the name, body ("Leib") (only later differentiated into "Laib"), and the form with the navel in the middle, allow to be recognized. On the other hand, one still describes birth in the Tyrol by the expression: "the oven has fallen in," as also Franz Moor in Schiller's "Räuber" sees the only brotherly relation to Karl in the fact that "they were both out of the same oven." But the sexual meaning extends to everything which comes into contact with the original symbol. The eating, by which the stork lets the child fall, becomes the female symbol, the chimney-sweeper the phallic symbol, as one may still recognize in its present significance of good luck; for most of our good luck symbols were originally symbols of fruitfulness, as the horseshoe, the clover leaf, the mandrake and others, and here, again, the sexual life seems closely united to vegetation and agriculture.

For the original sexual meaning of ploughing, outside of the phallic significance of almost all kinds of implements,⁶ the conception of the earth as the "old mother" (Urmutter) was the determining factor (compare the splendid book of von Dieterich, *Mutter Erde* (Mother Earth), 2d edition, 1913). To antiquity, this idea was so common that even dreams, as for example, that reported of Julius Caesar and Hippas, of sexual intercourse with the mother, were interpreted to mean the mother earth and taking possession of it. Also in Sophocles' *Oedipus* the hero speaks repeatedly of the "mother field from which he had sprouted."

⁶ Knife, hammer, nail, etc. Thor's hammer, with which, especially, the marriage was consecrated, is recognized by Cox (*Myth. of the Aryan Nations*, 1870, Vol. II, p. 115), Meyer (*Germ. Myth.*, 1891, p. 212) and others in its phallic significance and the corresponding thunderbolt of Indra is his phallus (Schlesinger, *Gesch. d. Symbols*, 1912, p. 438). Concerning the nail, Hugo Winckler says: "The nail is the tool of fruitfulness, the penis; hence its figure in the old Babylonian cones is still to be recognized, which represent the driven clavus of the Romans; compare Arabic *na'al* = copulate ('Arabic, Semitic, Oriental')." *Mitt. d. Vorderasiat. Ges.*, 1901, 4/5. Still in present-day folk life of Bavaria, Suabia, Switzerland, the iron nail plays a rôle as symbol of the phallus and fruitfulness (*Arch. f. Kriminalanthrop.*, Vol. 20, p. 122).

And even Shakespeare in *Pericles* has Boult, who would deflorate the refractory Marina, use a symbol from the fields (IV, 5): "And if she were a thornier piece of ground than she is, she shall be ploughed." Too well known to be mentioned here, are the names for the male creative processes derived from the domain of agriculture (semen, fructification, etc.). The identification of human and vegetative fructification underlying these speech relations is easily to be recognized in the fructifying magic retained until very recent times, which consists in a naked couple performing the sexual act in the field, as it were to arouse the ground to imitation. Noteworthy in this connection is the fact that both in Greek and Latin as well as in Oriental languages, "ploughing" is commonly used in the sense of practicing coitus (Kleinpaul, *Rätsel d. Sprache*, p. 136) and that according to Winckelmann (*Alte Denkmäler der Kunst*) the expressions "garden," "meadow," "field" in the Greek denoted the female genital organ in jokes, which in Solomon's Song is called vineyard. The neurotic counterpart to this symbolizing personification of the earth is found among the North American Indians whose resistance against cultivation by ploughing is explained by Ehrenreich that they are afraid to injure the skin of the earth-mother; here, the identification has succeeded too well, as one might say.

Other symbols of apparently individual significance allow their typical form and application to be deciphered from the connections with the history of development, as, for example, the symbolization of the father as emperor or one of the persons of high authority. Here too, the history of civilization shows the original real significance of the relation which later continues only in the symbol, namely, that the father in the primitive relations of his "family" was actually invested with the highest degree of power and could dispose of the bodies and lives of his "subjects." Concerning the derivation of kingdom from the patriarchy in the family, the philologist Max Müller expresses himself as follows: "When the family began to develop into the state, then the king in the midst of his people became what the father and husband had been in the house: the master, the

strong protector.⁷ Among the manifold terms for king and queen, in the Sanscrit, there is simply father and mother. Ganaka in Sanscrit means father, from GAN, to beget; it also appears in the Veda as the name of a well-known king. This is the old German chuning, English king. Mother in Sanscrit is gani or gani, the Greek γυνή, Gothic quinô, Slavic zena, English queen. Thus queen (Königin) originally signifies mother or mistress and we see repeatedly how the speech of the family life gradually grew to the political speech of the oldest Aryan state." Even at the present, this conception of the kingly ruler and of divine and spiritual superiority is still alive as "father" in the speech usage. Smaller states, in which the relations of the prince to his subjects are still closer, call their ruler, "Landfather" (Landesvater); for the people of the mighty Russian empire, their czar is the "Little Father" as in his time was Attila for the powerful Huns (diminutive of Gothic, atta = father). The supreme ruling head of the Catholic Church is called by the believers, as representative on earth of God, the Father, "Holy Father" which forms in Latin the name "papa" (pope), a term by which our children still denote the father.

These few examples may suffice to characterize the great age, the rich content, the extensive and typical field of application, the cultural historical as well as individual importance of symbolism and to show the continuance of the symbol-forming forces in the mental life of present-day civilized people.

Psychologically considered, the symbol formation remains a regressive phenomenon, a reversion to a certain stage of pictorial thinking which exists among highly cultured people in clearest shape in those exceptional states, in which the conscious adaptation to reality, is either partially limited, as in the religious and artistic ecstasy, or seems totally annulled, as in the dream and mental disturbances. Corresponding to this psychological conception, is the original function of identification underlying symbolization; this identification is demonstrable in the history of

⁷ Father (Vater) is derived from a root PA which means, not beget, but protect, maintain, nourish. The father, as procreator, is called in Sanscrit, ganitor (genitor). Max Müller, *Essays*, Vol. II, Leipsic, 1869, German edition, p. 20.

civilization as a means of adaptation to reality which becomes superfluous and sinks to the mere significance of a symbol as soon as this task of adaptation has been accomplished. Thus, symbolism seems to be the unconscious precipitate of primitive means of adaptation to reality which has become superfluous and unsuitable, a sort of lumber-room of culture to which the adult person in conditions of reduced or deficient capability of adapting to reality, gladly flees, in order to regain his old, long-forgotten playthings of childhood. That which later generations know and consider only as symbol had in an earlier stage of mental development complete real meaning and value. In the course of development, the original significance fades more and more, or even changes, so that speech, folklore, wit, etc., have often preserved remnants of the original connection in more or less clear consciousness.

By far the most comprehensive and important group of primitive symbols, which seem quite far-fetched to conscious thought, is composed of those which originally sexualized phenomena and processes of the external world in the service of adaptation, in order in later stages, to apply these anthropomorphisms, which were again separated from this original meaning, as "symbols" of sexual affairs. Besides these symbols, there seem to be still other forms and mechanisms of symbol formation which, inverted, symbolize the human body, its organic processes and mental states by harmless or apparently easily representable things of the external world. To this group, belongs the category of somatic symbols, best known from the dream investigations of Scherner; these somatic symbols represent parts of the body or the functions of these in pictorial fashion (for example, sets of teeth as rows of houses, pressure of urine as a flood, etc.); another similar category is that of the so-called (H. Silberer) functional symbols which represent plastically, conditions and processes of the individual mental life perceived endopsychically (the constant functioning of the mind), such as the sad mood, by the picture of a dismal landscape, the following of difficult trains of thought, by the difficult mounting on a horse which is all the time getting farther away, and others. Both these kinds of "introjecting" symbol formation, which are apparently con-

trasted to the first described "projecting" variety of the material category which symbolizes the psychic content, might perhaps better be considered, not as special kinds of symbol formation, but rather as kinds of pictorial representation of physical and mental processes occurring regularly, to a certain extent, in the real symbol formation. Thus, for example, in the phallic symbol of the serpent, besides the form, the ability to rise up, the smoothness and suppleness of the phallus, especially its dangerousness and uncanniness are represented, that is, not essential components of the same, but definite mental relationships thereto (anxiety, abhorrence), from which relationships, others actually lead to other symbolizations of the male member (for example, as bird, etc.), while in many symbols, certain somatic attributes and conditions find representations (cane = erection, syringe = ejaculation, empty balloon envelope = flaccidity).

To sum up, we may specify the following characteristics for the real symbol in the psychoanalytic sense, as we recognize it best in the speech of the dream and also in a series of other mental productions:

Representation for the unconscious, constant meaning, independence of individual conditions, evolutionary foundations, speech relationships, phylogenetic parallels (in myths, cult, religion, etc.). The occurrence of these conditions under which we speak of a symbol and of which, now some, now others are demonstrable beyond dispute, affords us at the same time the possibility of verifying the symbolic meanings recognized in the mental life of the individual and of attaining most valuable certainty in this vague and obscure field. Further corroboration for the symbol investigation is afforded by the rich material in folklore and wit, which often enough may apply to other fields only unconsciously; especially do folklore and wit use sexual symbols so that they must be familiar to everyone.⁸ Our knowl-

⁸ Certain forms of wit, closely related to the obscene riddles, were in their preponderating number, according to Schultz (*Rätsel aus dem hellenischen Kulturkreise*, 1912, II part), "originally no riddles, but symbolic, in part, indeed dialogical descriptions of ritualistic processes of the creation of fire, gaining of intoxication," which in union with sexual creation "stood in the central point of the old Aryan ritual." "If they were sung along with the action in question, no hearer could be in doubt of the

edge of the symbol receives a further very noteworthy confirmation and partial enrichment from the psychoanalytic study of certain insane patients, among whom, one type, the so-called schizo- or paraphrenic has the peculiarity of disclosing to us openly the secret symbolic meanings. Finally, we have recently gained an experimental method which affords the verification of known symbols and the discovery of new individual ones in a manner free from all objections, thus destroying every doubt of the existence of a sexual dream-symbolism.⁹ Likewise, what may be considered as such an experiment arranged by nature, is afforded by certain dreams in which a bodily need of sexual or other nature attempts to gratify itself in definite typical symbols, before the irritation leads to awakening and therewith to the appreciation of the symbolic meanings (waking-dream). One principle of the symbol investigation which is not to be underestimated is the result which allows us to gain a good meaning and deep significance for unintelligible expressions of the mental life. This kind of scientific proof in the field of symbol interpretation, we share completely with the conception of the investigator of speech and myth, Wilhelm Müller, which he has represented against his colleagues for more than a half century: "As we ascertain the meaning of unknown words by assigning them a place, at first according to the context, and consider these meanings correct if they are suitable in all places where the word recurs, so it is with the explanation of a symbol, aside from other standpoints, to consider it correct, if it permits of the same explanation everywhere it occurs, or in a great number of cases, and agrees with the connection of the myth."

The knowledge of the real unconscious meaning and its comprehension, is neither alike with all symbols nor does it remain meaning of such a verse." "Only later, when, with the religious practice, this understanding faded, did they become riddles and had to be adapted to various traditional solutions" (page 117 ff.).

⁹ The subject of the experiment is given the hypnotic command to dream something definite, some sexual situation. She dreams this but not in direct representation as is the case with harmless commands, but in symbolical guise, which corresponds completely with that disclosed by psychoanalysis in the ordinary dream life. Compare Dr. Karl Scrötter: *Experimentelle Träume* (Experimental dreams), *Zentralblatt für Psychoanalyse*, II, 1912.

constant during the course of development and change of significance of the same symbol. Further, the comprehension of the symbol is different within a circle of culture holding about the same content of consciousness, according to the fields of application, the stratum of population in which it appears and the mental condition of the person using it. It shows that the conditions for the comprehension of the symbol stand in a contrasting correlation to the tendencies of the symbol formation. While the symbolic representation appears in the service of the unconscious desires, in order to smuggle the shocking material in disguised form into consciousness, a certain indefiniteness must adhere to the symbol which can shade from easily transparent ambiguity (in obscene joke and wit) to complete incomprehensibility (in dream and neurosis). Between these two possible extreme attitudes of consciousness to the symbol and its comprehension, lies a series of what might be called complete symbolizations, such as are shown in religion, myth and art; these symbolizations on the one hand render possible an intelligible representation and conception but on the other hand are not without a deep unconscious meaning.

At this point we come to the second of the questions propounded above, namely, in what psychic products, unconscious processes or those processes derived from the unconscious, assert themselves most plainly by means of the mechanisms described.

We have already mentioned some formations which signify a disturbance of normal mental activity and could not deny their close relationship to the unconscious. It is just these cases, where the unsatisfying outcome of the conflict between unconscious and repression, supported by other circumstances, causes illness; such maladies, resulting from unsuccessful repression or that repression which has again become regressive, we number among the psychoses, if they permanently destroy the normal relation to reality; we call them psychoneuroses, if in spite of the partial regression to the infantile attitude, the essential traits of cultural personality have remained intact. A related case is that of hypnosis and suggestion, of which normal and healthy individuals are also susceptible. A temporary loss of the function of reality appears in sleep, during which a mental activity

comes before consciousness as the dream which is dominated chiefly by the unconscious. Finally, there belong in this category, the errors of execution, such as errors of speech and writing, forgetting of names, mistakes and the like, which point plainly to the working of a psychic force opposed to the conscious attitude.

All these phenomena have the common characteristic that they seek to sever and weaken the relations to the fellow men. The isolating characteristic of the neuroses and psychoses and the tendency of these to take men from vocation and family is generally recognized. In hypnosis, the hypnotized person is subjected to the influence of one particular person so that he seems cut off from all others. In sleep, this separation is carried out in the most complete manner imaginable, without the exception of even one person. The faulty performances of forgetting and the like, usually have the effect of influencing the ability of communication, even if in an insignificant manner; others, as for example, mistakes (of action) often lead to injury of the surroundings.

It would be conceivable that the unconscious, which does indeed arise essentially in the presocial time of humanity, might express itself also preëminently in a social or antisocial phenomenon like those thus far enumerated. As a matter of fact, however, the unconscious is of such importance in the mental life that an important cultural progress against its resistance could have scarcely succeeded. It was necessary, on the contrary, to win the extraordinarily intense instinctive forces from this source for the social and cultural work, since without the immense energy afforded by them, no result would have been attainable.

The useful activities favoring the prolongation of life and elevation of the standard of living were mostly uncomfortable and tiresome. If things could be so arranged that the repressed wishes would find a gratification, even if only a symbolic one, then these important acts would become pleasant and in this way, a real stimulus would be provided for their execution. For such a gaining of pleasure in symbolic activity, the sexual wishes were best suited, since with them, the aim can be displaced from reality to the hallucinatory gratification of phantasy easier than with the ego instincts, where the real gratification is necessary for

the existence of the individual and which, as for example hunger, can endure no other form of gratification.

We have seen that the unconscious is that part of the mental life which, bent upon immediate gain of pleasure, will not submit to adaptation to reality. So far, then, as the human mental activity had to deal exclusively with reality and its domination, nothing could be started with the unconscious. But in all those fields where a diversion from reality was allowed the mind, where phantasy might stir its wings, its field of application was assured. Hence, if we find in older stages of culture, activities, which for us have nothing to do with phantasy, as agriculture or administration of justice, carried out with symbolic phantastic acts, this is explained by the fact that amid primitive relations the demands of the unconscious were far more strongly accentuated than with us.

Other products of culture, in which the world of phantasy played an important rôle, have been able to preserve their characteristics pure, or to yield them to the developing function of reality; in this group belong religion and art with all their fore-runners and offshoots.

Thus, we see before us a double series: on one side, the asocial, the forms of expression of the unconscious limited and accounted to the individual, especially the dream and the neurosis, which will not further engage our attention here; on the other side, the phenomena most important for the origin and development of civilized life, myth and religion, art and philosophy, ethics and law. The psychological share which must have been necessary for the mental sciences devoted to these structures can therefore never be elucidated with entire satisfaction if the psychology of the unconscious is not included.

CHAPTER II

INVESTIGATION OF MYTHS AND LEGENDS

The justification for utilizing the methods and results of psychoanalysis for the comprehension of the origin, variation and significance of mythical traditions is founded on the fact that in that kind of investigations, the boundaries of the true psycho-

analytic domain are not in the least overstepped. Aside from the fact that the myth has always been considered as needing interpretation, it is scarcely to be denied that in the mythical and legendary tales of primitive and cultured peoples, independently of whatever meaning and content these may have, we are dealing with the products of pure phantasy; this conception affords us surety for the justified and necessary share of psychological consideration in the investigation of myths. It is in the illumination of the human phantasy life and its productions that psychoanalysis has accomplished its greatest achievement: namely, the discovery of the powerful unconscious instinctive forces which impel to phantasy formation, the elucidation of the mental mechanisms which have shared in the origin of this phantasy life and in the comprehension of the predominant symbolic forms of expression which came to be employed.

The first incitement to psychoanalytic labors in attempting to understand myth formation and myth significance proceeded from the insight into the origin and meaning of dreams, for which we are indebted to Freud. Of course, psychoanalysis was not the first to call attention to the relations between dream and myth; the extraordinary importance of dream life for poetry and myth has been recognized at all times, as P. Ehrenreich¹⁰ points out. Not only may dreams have been the only source of myth formation among many peoples according to their own statements, but further, well-known mythologists like Laistner, Mannhardt, Roscher and recently also Wundt, have deeply appreciated the significance of the dream life, especially of the anxiety dream, for the understanding of individual groups of myths, or at least groups of motives. If this point of view has, in recent times, been brought to some discredit by the "interpretation of nature" which has crowded to the foreground, still it nevertheless remains in the eyes of keen observers, as for example, Ehrenreich, undisputed as valuable knowledge. One understands, however, the brusque opposition of the purely internal psychological method of consideration which proceeds from the dream life and the

¹⁰ Die allgemeine Mythologie und ihre ethnologischen Grundlagen (General Mythology and its Ethnological Foundations), Leipzig, 1910, page 149 (Mythol. Bibl., IV, 1).

conception which takes as a basis merely the real universe (processes of nature), when one measures the narrow scope of application of a method of explanation which remains so much restricted to the type of the anxiety dream and hence clings to the incomprehensible dream event and dream content.

Though the parallel consideration of dream and myth and therewith the psychological method of consideration was formerly recognized in its principal justification, still there was necessary to a deeper understanding of the dream life, a corresponding progress in the field of myth investigation. The first and at the same time, from many points of view, the most important step in this direction, we recognize in Freud's interpretation of the ancient *Œdipus* myth, which he was able to explain on the basis of typical dreams of male individuals of the death of the father and sexual intercourse with the mother, as a general human expression of these primitive wish impulses which had actually existed in past ages but have since been intensively repressed. The importance of this discovery deserves to be examined more closely and to be protected from misunderstanding; an explanation of it may introduce us quite a ways into the methods of psychoanalytic myth interpretation.

As is seen, this progress leads far beyond the previous purely external parallelization to the common unconscious sources by which, not only the dream productions, in the same manner as the myth formations, were nourished, but all phantasy products in general as well. Psychoanalysis has thus, not only a definite interpretation to propose, but at the same time establishes the necessity of myth interpretation in general, by means of the share which the unconscious has in myth formation. Further, it offers in place of the superficial comparison, a genetic method of consideration which allows myths to be conceived of as the distorted remnants of wish phantasies of whole nations, as you might say, the secular dreams of young humanity. As the dream in an individualistic sense, so the myth in a phylogenetic sense, represents a piece of the past mental life of childhood; it is the most brilliant confirmation of the psychoanalytic method of consideration that it finds the experience of unconscious mental life gained from individual psychology again in the mythical traditions of

past ages identical in content. In particular, the portentous conflict of the child's mental life, the ambivalent attitude toward the parents and toward the family with all its many sided relations (sexual curiosity, etc.), has been shown to be the chief motive of myth formation and the essential content of mythical traditions. Indeed, it may be shown that the development of mythical ideas, in their widest extent, reflects just the cultural relations of the individual in the family and the latter in the tribal relationships.

It is an especially good recommendation for the Freudian interpretation of the *Œdipus* saga that it interpolates nothing in the material and needs for its comprehension no auxiliary assumption, but points out the meaning of the myth directly in the elements given. The only presupposition is the bit of unfrightened investigating spirit—as it is represented in *Œdipus* himself¹¹—which places the psychoanalyst, schooled in the insight into the dream life, in a position to believe in the mental reality of the matter related. We have therewith formulated the most important fundamental concept of the psychoanalytic myth conception,¹² at the same time bearing in mind that the undisguised naïveté of the Greek fable of *Œdipus*, which admits of its application without commentary, represents only an exceptional case of especial clearness; otherwise, the dream pictures drawn on for the comprehension of the *Œdipus* fable differ, in their transparency, from the regular type of dream structure strikingly enough. It is not necessary here to repeat the reason given by Freud for this; for us, it is certain that the majority of myths, as well as the majority of our nocturnal dreams, disclose their deeper meaning only after a more or less complicated work of interpretation.

¹¹ One may compare the place in Schopenhauer's writings on Goethe (of Nov. 11, 1815): "The courage to take no question to heart is what makes the philosopher. The latter must resemble the *Œdipus* of Sophocles, who, seeking explanation concerning his own horrible fate, seeks further without hesitation, even when he already perceives from the answers that the most terrible thing for him will result. But, then, most of us have within us the *Jocasta* who begs *Œdipus*, for the sake of all the gods, not to seek further: and we yield to her." (Ferenczi, *Imago*, I, p. 276 ff.)

¹² This is also a fundamental concept of the psychoanalytic method of consideration in general.

(To be continued.)

WISHFULFILLMENT AND SYMBOLISM IN FAIRY TALES

BY DR. FRANZ RIKLIN

TRANSLATED BY WM. A. WHITE, M.D.

OF WASHINGTON, D. C.

(Continued from page 218)

Straparola also deals with the same theme ("Les Facétieuses nuits," Paris, 1857, I Nacht, 4 Fabel, I. S., 58 ff., cited by Rittershaus). A prince wishes to marry his daughter. On the advice of a nurse she hides in a cupboard which is sold and is taken from the palace and finally comes into possession of the king of England who then marries her. There she is discovered by the father. He disguises himself as an astrologer and comes to the court. Here he kills his two grandchildren and tries by means of a bloody knife which he hides near the queen to attach suspicion to his daughter. For this she is to die a slow death. Her old nurse learns of her misfortune, arrives upon the scene and discloses the misdeeds of her father.

The "*Peasant Daughter Helga*" (Rittershaus, XL), a beautiful maiden, received an awl from her dying mother which could say "yes" when charged to. When one evening her father wished to compel her to come to bed with him, she pretended, that she must look after the fire. When she was outside she stuck the awl in the wall and charged it to say "yes." Now she herself ran out into the dark night.

The further development of the fairy tale, however, takes a different course than those previously related.

Towards morning she had penetrated deep into the forest to a neat little house. The owner was named Herraudur and asked her to stay with him. After a while Helga became pregnant. In the sequel Herraudur was ensnared and bewitched by a sorceress

who sought Helga's life. She was saved with the help of magic, Herraudur recognized that he was bewitched, the persecutor was destroyed and Herraudur celebrated his marriage with Helga.

Here is the place to go into that somewhat complexly constructed fairy tale of "*The Beautiful Sesselja*" (Rittershaus, LI, p. 217).

A king mourned long over the death of his queen and declared that he would only marry a young maiden who was as beautiful as she who was dead and was like her. One day he saw his young daughter Sesselja dressed up in the best clothing of her mother and as she was more beautiful than her mother he wished to marry her. Sesselja fled now out of the kingdom of her father. In a strange kingdom she sought shelter with poor people and let herself be known as their daughter so that her father could not discover her. Once while tending the sheep, believing herself unobserved, she dressed up in the good clothes of her mother. She was discovered by the servants of a princess and was brought to her to serve her. This princess was also named Sesselja with the added title of "The Proud," as in her conceit she spurned all suitors.

Once as they were walking together they heard, deep in a cleft, a bird lamenting. Sesselja, the servant, had longer hair than her mistress so that the bird could reach it when it was let down and was pulled out. The princess was so delighted with the bird that she took him with her in her bed room. On the following morning, however, it had disappeared. Yet during the night which the bird passed in her room, the princess dreamt a wonderful dream. After several days there came to her a wonderful feeling and as the gold, that her father had once given her and that only retained its lustre in contact with virgins, turned black, the princess knew that, without fault of her own, she was pregnant (compare the Annunciation motive with the dove).

The faithful servant now helped her in her need, helped to conceal her pregnancy, held her own hands over that of the princess that contained the tell-tale gold, and passed herself as the mother of the child.

After some time the prince arrives who had been transformed into that bird by the wicked stepmother, but could be delivered by a princess risking her life for him, and wishes to marry his rescuer.

The princess is required to show her gold but affirms that the servant Sesselja has stolen it and drives her away. Everything is revealed, however, and the prince marries the servant, poorly rewarded for her faithfulness, who was indeed also a princess.

The motive of the sexual persecution by the father is the same as in the previous examples.

That the mother must always die first means, as in the language of dreams, that the mother (in the wish dream of the daughter) is the sexual rival of the daughter and must yield to her (infantilism).

The bird-prince and the narration of how princess Sesselja became pregnant is another striking example of sexual fairy-tale symbolism that further completes our deductions regarding the "Lark."

Sesselja, who is followed by her father, is depressed and gets the bird as a wish complement and becomes pregnant through it. It becomes indeed later also her mate. Through that, that the haughty princess Sesselja, as rival, who must be overcome, is taken up in the structure, there is brought about the somewhat characteristic transference.⁴ Pride, unapproachableness, combined with cruelty, as sexual characteristics of fairy-tale heroines, or much more of the woman whom the fairy prince is to conquer, is a frequently used chief motive in fairy tales.

Of the Peasant's Son Who Marries the Queen (Rittershaus, XLVIII, p. 201).—The peasant's son Finnur in his childhood often played with two princes. He was, however, stronger in every way than they, so they enviously ignored him. They undertook a journey into the world, well endowed, but in contrast to Finnur, who also sallied forth, they spurned the assistance of a magic being who offered to serve them, and went from court to court. Finnur, who fell in with them at the courts of the kings, made himself loved everywhere by his skilful service and his strength and was presented with magic gifts. A little table which laid itself, a jug in which a drink came when one wished in it, and magic shears with which one could obtain the most beautiful clothes.

In the fourth kingdom in which the youths met a virgin queen reigned who suffered no man among her retinue or in her vicinity

⁴ Perhaps it is not a transference; such errors also occur in nature.

who had not been castrated. The princes allowed themselves to be castrated, Finnur preferred to be banished on a desert isle, where he and others to whom the same fate had fallen, maintained themselves with his magic gift. The queen observed this and desired an explanation from him. She wished to possess unconditionally the little magic table, whereupon Finnur demanded to spend one night in her room sleeping on the floor. Four men with lights and drawn swords watched the bed in which the queen slept. For the magic jug he demanded to sleep in her bed at her feet. Eight men watched this time but Finnur did not stir. For the magic shears he demanded to sleep beside the queen but outside the bed coverings. The watch this time consisted of twelve men. Finnur wished now for the assistance of the magician mentioned in the beginning. In the same moment he found himself lying underneath the bed clothes beside the queen and the men who would run him through on that account could not stir a limb, they were transfixed until the queen cried to them: "Hey, put out the lights, put up your swords, and do not strike now for he is, with his fiddle, on a journey in my beautiful garden."

The following morning Finnur was enthroned beside the queen and a magnificent wedding celebrated.

The last quoted portion shows how rich in imagery the fairy-tale sexuality is. Garden and flowers are in general preferred figures in the fairy tales, for representing or concealing, to indicate the human sexual organs.

The fairy tale "*The Proud Queen*" (Rittershaus, XLVII, p. 198) deals with the oft recurring motive found in fairy tales, that the unmarried, haughty queen mocks her suitors, has them shaved bald and their clothes covered with white spots until one of the ugliest men conquers her and afterwards in his true shape becomes her husband.

Rittershaus cites a number of parallels to this story. The close cropped head probably signifies here, as in the biblical tale of Samson and Delilah, a sort of castration, a deprivation of masculine strength (in Samson it becomes the invincible magic strength). When hair is mentioned in the fairy tale (especially the hair of men) we can probably almost always interpret it in its significance as a sign of sexual strength.

In "*Elesa and Bogi*" (Rittershaus, LVIII) the princess

behaves in the same manner; in her need her foster-brother, who had wooed her, but had been scorned, comes to her help against a giant Berserker and then marries her.

In "*King Throstle-Beard*" the motive is similar. The proud, haughty princess has to marry the previously scorned king Throstle-Beard disguised as a beggar with whom she is happy after she has been humbled.

The peasant's son who married the queen is a wish-fulfilling construction; from the standpoint of the peasant's son, he overcomes the proud princess. In "*King Throstle-Beard*" there is still a sort of revenge motive added.

In the fairy tale "*The White Snake*" (Grimm, 17) a young man is consumed with love for a proud princess. She sought a husband but let it be known that whoever wished to woo her must accomplish a difficult task. If he was not able to do it his life would be forfeit. Many had already fruitlessly risked their lives. The young man, however, succeeded in solving three such tasks with the help of grateful animals. The third task, for example, was that he should fetch her a golden apple from the tree of life. They then share the apple of life and eat it together (sexual transposition symbol); then her heart is filled with love for him!

In the fairy tale "*The Riddle*" (Grimm, 22) the hero came to a city wherein dwelt a beautiful but haughty princess who had made it known that whoever should ask her a riddle that she could not guess should be her husband: if she guessed it, however, he would have his head cut off. The hero succeeded in giving her a riddle that she could not guess, whereupon she was compelled to become his wife.

The history of the young Tobias ("Book of Tobias," 3 to 8) contains in somewhat different form the same fundamental theme, that is in close relation with some of the following examples where the same characteristics appear transferred to the male.

A spell or curse lay on Sarah that every man who was to marry her perished on the wedding night. Through the magic means of the intestines of a fish which were procured for him by a benevolent being—here in the form of an angel—Tobias was delivered from this spell on his wedding night. The Biblical tale gives to this content throughout a not fully corresponding moralizing form:

The old, blind Tobias prays God to allow him to die after all the affliction and the abuses he endured through his friends: "Oh Lord, grant me mercy and take my spirit in peace; for I would much rather be dead than to live" (Tob., III, VI).

And it came to pass in these days that Sarah, a daughter of Ragnel, in the Medean city Rags was also evilly slandered and rebuked by a servant of her father's.

There had been seven men given, one after another, and an evil spirit, named Asmodi, had killed them all as soon as they lay with her. Thereupon her father's servant rebuked her and said: "God grant that we will never see a son or daughter of thine on earth thou murderess of men" (Tob., III, 7-10).

After these words she went into an upper chamber in the house and neither ate nor drank for three days and three nights and continued to pray and lament and begged God that he would free her from the disgrace.

In the same hour these two prayers were both heard by the Lord in Heaven.

And the holy Raphael, the angel of the Lord, was sent, to help both because their prayers were offered at the same time to the Lord.

The old Tobias cried out in the belief that he would soon die and to his son, the young Tobias, he gave admonitions and disclosed to him that Ragnel in the city of Rags in Medea still owed him ten pounds of silver which he should collect.

The old Tobias advised him also to take a companion on his journey.

Then the young Tobias went out and found a fine young fellow who had dressed himself and was ready to travel.

It was the angel Raphael who passed for an Israelite and knew Ragnel and Rags well.

He promised the young Tobias to accompany him there (compare Tob., V). The following Tob., VI, VII, 16-20, VIII.

And Tobias went along and a little dog ran with him. The first day's journey brought them to the river, Tigus, and he went in to bathe his feet; and he saw a great fish rush to devour him. The terrified Tobias cried in a loud voice: "O, Lord, it will devour me." And the angel spoke to him: "Grasp him by the fins and pull him out." And he pulled him up on the land; there

it struggled before his feet. Then spoke the angel: "Cut the fish in pieces, the heart, the gall and the liver keep yourself, for they are very good for medicines."

And some pieces of the fish they cooked and took them with them on their journey; the others they salted so that they might have them on the way until they came to the city of Rags in Medea.

Then Tobias spoke to the angel and asked him: "I beg you, Azaria (this name the angel had adopted for himself) my brother, that you will tell me what kind of remedies can be made of the pieces that you commanded should be kept?"

Then said the angel: "If you lay a piece of the heart in glowing coals the smoke from it will drive away all sorts of bad spirits of man and woman, so that no harm can come through them (Tob., VI, 1-10).

They then went to Ragnel and the angel advised Tobias to sue for the hand of Ragnel's only daughter Sarah. Tobias delayed, for he knew that already seven men had perished on their wedding night with Sarah. The angel directed him to stay and to pray with her for three days and to lay the fish liver on glowing coals whereby the devil would be driven away. Tobias wooed Sarah; he made a marriage contract and ate with her; the bridal chamber was made ready into which they led the weeping Sarah and then Tobias.

Thereupon he took a piece of the liver out of the sack and lay it upon glowing coals. The angel Raphael took the spirit prisoner and bound him in the wilderness far away in Egypt.

At midnight Ragnel called his servants to make a grave; for they suspected it might go with Tobias as with the other seven who had trusted her. Then a maid was sent to the chamber in order to see.

She found both of them well and fresh and sleeping by one another. The grave was filled up before daybreak. Thereupon there was again celebrated a great feast (Tob., VI, VII, VIII).

This tale, in the Bible, is garnished with moral and religious language which in many places absolutely does not suit the story.

Notwithstanding the whole fairy-tale structure is very transparent; the salient point, according to my view, is the disenchantment of Sarah at the marriage (freeing from a bad spirit; these

two things are indeed not wholly identical, they indicate, however, fundamentally the same thing), which the young Tobias, after seven men have lost their lives, obtains by means of magic, supplied by a helpful being, here an angel.

Those fairy tales with a cruelty motive, where a savage dragon who rules in a neighboring kingdom daily or yearly desires the sacrifice of a maiden, are now understandable to us.

The solution consists in that the dragon is thought of as the rival of a hero who frees the princess and vanquishes the dragon. In place of the dragon another cruel, masculine principle may appear.

Nikita the Tanner (Afanassiew, No. 30).—In the neighborhood of Kiew there appeared a dragon. He desired from everyone a beautiful maiden to eat. It came finally to the daughter of the Czar. However, the dragon did not eat her, she was too beautiful. He dragged her to his cave and made her his wife. By means of a little dog which had followed her she was able to send a letter back home and get an answer which ran: "Try and find out someone who is stronger than the dragon." Through cajolery she got the dragon to tell her that Nikita the tanner in Kiew was stronger than he. Nikita was induced by the Czar to go against the dragon whom he vanquished and finally drowned in the sea.

From "*The Two Soldier's Sons Ivan*" (Afanassiew, No. 33). One Ivan, who had turned to the left at the crossroads, rode day and night for three months, then he came to a strange land where grief reigned. In the capital city he learned that every day a twelve-headed dragon rose out of the sea and each time devoured a man. Today the oldest of the three beautiful daughters of the Czar would be led to the sea to serve as food for the dragon. Ivan rode to the sea. The beautiful Czarina warned him. He had, however, enormous strength. As the dragon rose raging from the sea he killed him. A water carrier of the king's found the rescued one and brought her to her father. He threatened, on the way, to kill her if she did not say he was her rescuer.

A second dragon demanded (by means of a note attached to an arrow which was let fly through a window into the hall when the Czar and the nobles were assembled) in the same way the

second daughter. Ivan again went through the same adventure. The water carrier demanded that she say to her father what he wished.

Then, in the same manner exactly, it came the turn of the youngest daughter, the best beloved of the father. Ivan carried through this third conflict successfully, and killed also the third dragon.

Before the water carrier could celebrate his wedding with her Ivan came to the palace and the Czarina knew him and declared him to be her saviour who should take her to wife, and the water carrier was hung.

At the close of the fairy tale "*Ivan Czarevitch and Bjely Poljanin*" (Afanassiew, No. 36) the hero came in the three times ninth land and three times tenth kingdom where a princess lived with a dragon Czar. He killed the dragon, freed the princess from captivity, and married her.

In the fairy tale "*The Two Brothers*" (Grimm, 60) a hunter comes to a city where sadness reigns. Outside the city is a high mountain on which lives a dragon who, every year, must have a pure young maiden, otherwise he lays waste the land. Now only the king's daughter is left who is to be sacrificed on the following day. The hero receives superhuman strength by drinking from a magic goblet, kills the dragon and marries the princess.

The motive of sexual cruelty is contained in typical form in the history set forth in the fairy tales of the "*Thousand and One Nights*."

The king swore (so that no one could be untrue to him) that each night he would choose a different young maiden whom he would have put to death in the morning; for there was, in the whole world, no virtuous woman. Each evening his vizier procured for him a new daughter of a prince of the country whom in the morning he had killed. Throughout the land fathers and mothers lamented and finally there were no more maidens left except the two daughters of the chief vizier himself. The older wished to be conducted to the sultan. By means of the fairy tales which she spun out to him nightly—a thousand and one—she held his interest so that each time he put off her execution until she had finished.

Schehersad bore him, during this time, three sons. At the

close of her story telling, she begged him for permission to present the children, and he spared her life for their sake.

"*The Prudent Princess*" is somewhat related to the previous fairy tale (Rittershaus, XLIX).

It is not the motive of sexual cruelty but the insatiableness which, however, is usually bound up in the fairy tales with the first motive.

An Emperor has a very fierce son. He took the daughters of the treasurers of his father for himself, slept three nights with them and then sent them back home. Not one could escape his desire.

A little daughter was born to one of the treasurers and he had, on this account, great anxiety. He spread the news that the child was dead and had her brought up in secrecy. At twelve years she insisted on having a tower for herself like other princesses. The father considered her lost, as in this manner her existence became known.

The son of the Emperor had also noticed her and this year he will personally collect the taxes with the treasurer. He is dazzled by the beauty of the daughter and wishes to sleep with her.

She then gives him a sleeping draught, packs him in a chest and sends it to the Emperor. On awaking the prince is furious and plots revenge. She, however, once again plays him a trick and shuts him in the tower which the prince had intended as a prison for her. He is found sitting fast on a spiked stool. The princess appears as an Egyptian physician at the palace, sets him free and heals him. She is suspected as being the originator of the trouble but all ruses to trap her prove ineffectual.

Thereupon the king and his son prepare a war of vengeance against the treasurer and his daughter. According to a promise previously given the doctor they must at once stop the fight when the physician appears with the flag of peace. Then there is a cessation of hostilities and the marriage of both.

In B. Schmidt ("Das Volksleben der Neugriechen," p. 171) we find the following case from Pausanias (VI, 6, 7-10) interesting to us on account of its associations.

A companion of Odysseus had committed rape on a maiden in Temesa and was stoned. As a spirit (vampire) he killed every-

thing until they erected a temple to him and yearly sacrificed the most beautiful virgin. Finally he was vanquished by Enthymos and escaped.

To conclude I would like to mention that group of beautiful fairy tales in which the motive of the persecuted beauty is dealt with, a motive, the erotic basis of which is very clear. One can hardly go wrong if one conceives of the persecution as a sexual rivalry; the persecutor will do some harm to the heroine with the object of preventing her marriage with a prince.

"Little Snow-White" is probably the best known fairy tale of this kind.

Rittershaus (XXVIII) mentions some Icelandic and other settings of the theme. Sometimes the stepmother, sometimes the mother is the persecutor.⁵ It is interesting that among the evil charms which the persecutor of the heroine uses (in other versions spells are used) is a belt which kills the heroine unless the king of Germany comes and loosens it and thereby marries the heroine, or unless gold of the same quality is held to it. In this case it is the gold ring, of the fairy prince, which is made of the same gold through which the heroine is delivered and married.

Apuleius⁶ has treated the theme of the persecuted beauty in the fairy tale of "Amor and Psyche" in incomparably beautiful language and so offered the greatest art material for presentation.

It is well worth while to consider it somewhat in detail.

A king and a queen had three daughters of great beauty. The youngest, however, was of incomparable beauty.⁷ She was admired like the beautiful Venus, the Goddess of love.⁸ Psyche finds, however, only admirers but no husband and her sorrowing father receives the following answer from the oracle:

⁵ This fits splendidly into the theory that the stepmother signifies the true mother, as a rival.

⁶ "Amor und Psyche," a fairy tale of Apuleius. From the Latin of Reinhold Bachmann, Leipzig, Phil. Reclam.

⁷ The number three has, as usual in fairy tales, the object to make fittingly prominent the heroine, even as the fairy tale, often awkwardly so, creates a contrast figure to the hero, who spoils everything and comes to a bad end.

⁸ Here Venus, the later mother-in-law, the rôle of persecutor just as in other fairy tales a witch, a giantess, or stepmother.

Place the maiden high on the rocky crag of the mountain,
 Adorned in the sorrowful garb of marital woe.
 Do not hope for a son-in-law of mortal birth
 A terrible one will arise from the dragon's tribe
 Then flying through the air he pursues them all
 And brings them all woe with fire and sword,
 Job trembles before him, all the gods fear him,
 The sea shudders before him: even the Stygian night.⁹

Instead of to her wedding, Psyche was conducted, in obedience to the Oracle, up the mountain in her bridal attire.

In characteristic manner she herself (like other fairy-tale princesses in similar sagas) is less troubled than those about her and urges herself to the fulfillment of the Oracle's command. (One is tempted to say: She just knows that nothing evil will befall her!)

Above, the anxious, trembling Psyche was seized by the soft zephyrs and wafted to a valley and placed on a bed of flowers.¹⁰

On awaking she found herself in a fairy grove and sees before her a house built by godly skill (a magic castle) from the richest and most splendid material. Within everything was considered and she heard servants' voices¹¹ which invited her to a most pleasing repose and to a most excellent table.¹² Also, afterwards, the most beautiful music was sung. In the evening she lay down to rest; by a soft sound she was frightened, she trembled, fearing something undefined. Already there is an unknown mate there whomarries Psyche before daybreak, yet again hastens away.¹³

⁹ This verse reminds one of the fairy tale in which the insatiable dragon demands the virgin sacrifice. Also the following funeral procession (= wedding procession) to the mountain corresponds to it and speaks for the correct interpretation of the dragon figure in the fairy tale.

¹⁰ Here Psyche enters the magic sphere. This instant corresponds to the appearance of the magic mist, in the Icelandic fairy tales, the going astray in the forest in the German, etc. Zephyr corresponds at the same time to what is frequently demonstrated in the fairy tales, the magic cloak or other similar wish means of translation through the air. It is unfortunate that we to-day with our imperfect balloons are not so far advanced.

Here begins the production of a wish structure which improves upon the preceding and rather unpleasant position of Psyche. Why does it resemble so strikingly a dream and the wish phantasies of the psychotic?

¹¹ As expressed in psychoses.

¹² A "little table sets itself."

¹³ It has already been mentioned that certain psychotics experience a quite identical nocturnal embrace of an invisible spouse.

He warns her later of her sisters who visit her and wish to tear from her the secret of her marriage to a god.¹⁴ Unfortunately without success. The envious sisters who were carried by like zephyrs into the magic fields, persuaded her, until at last she finally looked at her divine spouse by the aid of a lamp and awakened him by incautiously spilling oil upon him.

They had represented to her, that her husband was perhaps, as the oracle proclaimed, a hideous dragon, who would yet devour her. Amor, however, makes his escape.¹⁵ Psyche revenged herself on her sisters by telling them that Amor was her lover, and declared that he had run away from her because of the exposure of his secret, but that he was now going to woo one of the sisters. They hastened to the mountain, threw themselves, without the help of the zephyrs, into the air, and were most miserably dashed to pieces.

Psyche wandered, full of misery, through all countries seeking Amor, while Venus, who had learned besides of the adventure of Amor, in renewed anger sought her rival in order to punish her.

Finally Psyche voluntarily gave herself up to the wrathful goddess, was naturally badly treated and was required to fulfill three difficult tasks.¹⁶ First, like Cinderella, she must separate the different kinds of seeds from a pile. Helpful ants quickly executed the task. Venus believed that Amor had helped her and charged her to bring her a lock of the golden fleece. Psyche, who frequently wished to end her life, was instructed by the nymph Arundo how she could solve this problem. Third she must bring water from a spring, guarded by dragons, which supplied the stygian swamps and the waters of Cocytus. Jupiter's eagle helped her this time.

Finally Venus wishes a box full of the beauty of Proserpine.

¹⁴ This mystic union with the god as a higher being occurs as a psychic, sexual wish structure again and again. The Christian mystic has created wonderful cases of this sort. The painting of Coreggio, "The Mystic Marriage of St. Catherine," in the Louvre, has represented such an event in a charming manner. A comical counterpart suggests itself to me in a similar hallucinatory experience of a patient. She invested the Lord with checkered trousers. These trousers betrayed and led to the track of the youth who in the wish structure of the patient had become God.

¹⁵ We have already met this motive in different fairy tales.

¹⁶ Difficulties, which interfere with the attainment of the goal. See earlier.

As Psyche in despair would throw herself from a tower, it speaks in an encouraging and counseling voice,¹⁷ telling her in what manner she can carry out this most difficult task and safely enter the under world. She came near forfeiting her life by being overcome with sleep emanating from the box which she had opened in her curiosity in order to take for herself some of the underworld beauty. The recovered Amor, escaping from the bondage of his mother, comes to her assistance and turns back the sleep into the box, and Psyche delivers the present of Proserpine. Amor—instead of, as in other tales, vanquishing the persecutrix as the hero—now goes to Zeus in order, as his favorite, to procure deliverance from the difficulties.

Zeus charges him with having, in various ways, wounded his heart and stained it by earthly passion and brought the customs into disrepute through an objectionable love affair and spoiled his reputation and authority, when he had induced him to be changed into serpents and flames, into a bull and a swan.¹⁸ However, he promises to help him; the mortal Psyche receives the nectar of immortality¹⁹ and is united forever with the godly Amor.

The author concludes this study with a feeling of great incompleteness. Unfortunately he has taken only a very little from the rich treasures of the fairy tales—perhaps more, however, than has been taken formerly from these beautiful creations, thanks to the Freudian psychological discoveries. There remains yet very much, much fine material, that has escaped this somewhat crude work. Compared with the results of dream investigations and psychoanalysis, however, the results are of significance in so far that one will hardly be able to say that they have been arbitrarily adapted to the point of view. The material appears, however, to speak for itself and corroborate our views. Also it appears to me that they represent another step taken on the way of comparative psychology.

¹⁷ Similarity with a teleological hallucination.

¹⁸ What a beautiful collection of masculine sex symbols!

¹⁹ Compare the fruit of the tree of life.

ABSTRACTS

IMAGO

Zeitschrift für die Anwendung der Psychoanalyse auf die
Geisteswissenschaften

ABSTRACTED BY DR. J. S. VAN TESLAAR

BOSTON, MASS.

(Vol. I, No. 5)

1. The Influence of Sexual Factors on the Origin and Development of Language. HANS SPERBER.
2. The Meaning of Salt in Folklore. E. JONES.
3. The Psychology of Travel. DR. ALFR. FRH. V. WINTERSTEIN.
4. Psychoanalytic Notes on Goethe's Wahlverwandtschaften. J. HARNIK.
5. Philosophy and Psychoanalysis. S. FERENCZI.
6. Reply to Dr. Ferenczi. J. J. PUTNAM.

1. *The Influence of Sexual Factors on the Origins and Development of Language.*—The problem of the origins of language has led numerous investigators to the formulation of various theories. Most of the speculative theories on the subject have been reviewed recently by Borinski, in his *Ursprung der Sprache* (1911). A perusal of Borinski's monograph is sufficient to convince one that the subject is still in a chaotic state.

Psychologists are not wanting who doubt the relevance of the problem itself as a psychologic question. Wundt, for instance, to mention the most weighty instance of scepticism, points out that an inquiry into the origins of language implies the belief that at one time the human race was without language. As nothing we know about man's history warrants such a belief, the idea of a pre-glossal stage is entirely fictitious and to speak of the origins of language is to posit a problem which has no basis in fact.

Against this extreme scepticism Sperber takes exception. This writer holds that a psychological inquiry into the origins of language is perfectly legitimate. Such an inquiry need not concern itself necessarily with the very earliest beginnings, but may furnish valuable

information about the dynamic factors which have rendered language the supreme tool of human intercommunication.

Language, Sperber contends, must have arisen upon the repeated observation that sounds emitted upon certain occasions or accompanying certain activities exert some definite influence upon one's neighbor.

The problem of the origins of language, then, resolves itself into an inquiry as to the conditions which may have favored such chance observations. Bearing in mind the peculiar mental structure of man's ancestors, the following conditions are postulated by Sperber as favoring the development of vocal intercommunication:

(a) An individual uttering some simple sound or cry under the stimulus of a heightened emotion of some sort; (b) another subject, within hearing distance, capable of being affected by such a sound; (c) the presence of a motive pleasurable, or at least useful, to the reacting subject, and thus, (d) linking the two individuals together in some common purpose. In addition to all that, the situation must be (e) of a simple character, permitting easy association, and (f) often repeated, thus favoring the establishment of lasting associations.

The usual conception that language began during the hunting period with the warning cry is faulty in the light of these prerequisites, unless we are willing to ascribe to primitive man some altruistic motive in warning his neighbor of the approach of danger. This conception also errs on the score of complexity: hunting is an operation not quite simple enough to lend itself to associations with vocal utterances.

Sperber argues that only two situations fulfill the requirements for the development of language as outlined above, namely, nursing of the infant at the breast, and sexual activity in its strictly physical sense.

The activity of nursing as a possible source of language may be dismissed at the outset. The adult does not learn the use of language from the infant; with the exception of the infant's first few reflex sounds, the reverse is the fact: the infant absorbs language from the adult. Moreover, the influence of child language on the development of language in general is very small.

Thus, by a process of exclusion, Sperber arrives at sexuality or sexual activity as the most logical—perhaps the main—source of language.

At this juncture the question arises: How does this theory explain the development of language, or its use, in non-sexual relations and activities?

In order to answer this question Sperber indulges in a very cir-

cuitous line of reasoning. Perhaps we may attempt here a restatement, in brief form, of his argumentation.

Sperber points out, in the first place, that heretofore the distinction between the problem of the meaning of words or of particular groups of words has not been sufficiently distinguished from the larger problem of the origins of language itself. His hypothesis answers—satisfactorily, he believes—the latter problem. As to the question of the uses of language in non-sexual relations, it admits of an easy answer in the light of that hypothesis if we acquiesce in the additional presuppositions that man's non-sexual use of language developed probably when he reached the tool using stage and that the use of tools was almost invariably associated with lustful outcries on account of the well recognized erotic component of man's early activities.

Numerous words from various groups of languages relating to the primitive activities of man are examined by Sperber, and though they belong to widely scattered languages, their history shows that all such words have passed alike through a stage when their meaning and uses had a distinct sexual tinge; many such words still preserve their erotic by-meaning in various dialects, notably words relating to the tilling of the earth or designating agricultural implements, etc. Moreover, the roots of all such words designate activities and functions in terms of analogy with the sexual.

2. *The Meaning of Salt in Folklore.*—In the portion of this study previously abstracted (see *THE PSYCHOANALYTIC REVIEW*, Vol. II, No. 2), Jones analyzed the superstitions and popular beliefs about salt as phenomena of ordinary symbolization. The present portion of the study is devoted to a study of the infantile roots of salt symbolism.

Freud's theory of infantile sexuality furnishes the basis as well as the framework for the synthetic work of Jones, specifically the theory that children formulate definite ideas or fancies concerning impregnation and childbirth and that these early fanciful notions are later forgotten or repressed. Numerous beliefs and customs involving salt appear to be nothing more than survivals of fanciful notions about impregnation through food, or through the admixture of solids with liquids, or through other equally fanciful means that suggest themselves to the mind of childhood. There are also beliefs about salt that point to some well known infantile sex theories involving the rôle of solid excreta and urine. The amount of data lending itself to such interpretation is overwhelmingly large.

It is highly probable, Jones argues, that watery solutions of salt came into use for religious, medicinal and other purposes, as a substitute for urine, salt representing in the watery admixture, the solid elements of urine, chief among which was counted the male impreg-

nating, or life giving substance, semen. The substitution of urine, at a later period, by other bodily fluids, particularly by blood, is easily explained when we consider the associations of such fluids with the vital forces. Salt owes its fanciful qualities to its symbolic, unconscious representation in the popular mind of semen. Thus, back of most, possibly all, superstitions about salt stand certain infantile theories of sexuality.

Ambivalence is richly represented in salt symbolism. Such antinomial uses and qualities as fertility-barrenness, creation-destruction, worth-worthlessness, healthy-unhealthy, clean-unclean, are frequently encountered in salt folklore. This, like all other ambivalence, corresponds, roughly speaking, to the antithesis between the repressed and the unrepressed and is a characteristic feature of all ideas that have their roots in the unconscious. Thus, in the case of salt, the key to ambivalence is to be found in the contrast between the overvaluation during childhood of sexuality in general and particularly of the fanciful rôle ascribed by the unconscious to the excretory processes in the functioning of sex when contrasted with the conscious repression of sex during the adult period and the turning away from excretory processes of the adult, conscious mind.

3. *The Psychology of Travel*.—The desire to travel is so common, so universally shared that it is one of the tendencies likely to escape psychologic scrutiny. Its very universality may obscure from view the fact that Wanderlust, in its varied forms, represents an interesting problem to the student of human nature.

The ancient order of Paternians were aware of this; they called the lower bodily regions the seat of sexual pleasure and—strict localizationists, with a logic that betrays wisdom and insight—they assigned the same seat to the pleasures of travel. (It can be asserted positively that the ancient order of Paternians were not influenced in their observations or deductions by the psychoanalytic school.)

Moreover, poets at all times have asserted and reiterated such a relationship between *Eros* and *Wanderlust*. Every great drama and epic, ancient or modern, implies a strong association between the two. Thus, the travels of *Œdipus* are intertwined with his love affairs; Tannhauser wanders on *mons Veneris*,—*Venusberg*; The Flying Dutchman, it will be recalled, wanders about, willy-nilly, till released, characteristically enough, by a woman; Faust inaugurates his new erotic life with a flight in a magic mantle in the company of Mephisto.

Not only reflective writers and poets but systematic thinkers have also been impressed, at times, by the erotic import of the lust for travel. Weininger states that Kant "war so wenig erotisch, dass er nicht einmal das Bedürfnis hatte zu reisen."

Alfr. v. Winterstein attempts to delineate a few of the more important features through which we may recognize in the desire to travel a substitute for or sublimation of the erotic impulse.

The periodicity of Wanderlust is certainly noteworthy. Not only is the desire to travel strongest at certain seasons of the year, but it is likely to be uppermost at certain periods in life.

The wandering apprentices of the middle ages, the wandering students of universities, the young rambling cavaliers of Europe, the American and English travelers through Europe, represent various interesting phases of the Wanderlust. On the more strictly psychopathic side we have such interesting problems as the fugues, the circumscribed amnesic periods with ambulatory automatism, porio-mania, dromomania, etc. Not the least interesting is the Ahasverus type of the well-to-do sightseer, who is continuously running away from and avoiding contact with his own painfully sensitive "self."

4. *Psychoanalytic Notes on Goethe's Wahlverwandtschaften*.—Goethe's story relates the love of a young woman for a man many years older than herself,—a relationship characteristic of certain family complexes well known to psychoanalysts through their clinical observations. For an understanding of this relationship the scientific world is indebted to Freud who was the first to make the genial observation that the earliest relations of children to their parents furnishes the matrix and the imago for all subsequent selections in love affairs. (Vid. Freud, *Three Contributions to the Sexual Theory*, translated by Brill, *Nervous and Mental Disease Monograph Series*, No. 7.)

Harnik points out how closely Goethe's *Wahlverwandtschaften* reconstructs in the details of its plot the conflicts that arise out of unconscious family complexes. It is proven that the heroine's love for the older man symbolizes her yearning after father-love; various symptomatic acts on the girl's part betray the fact that her love is conditioned by an infantile father-imago.

5. *Philosophy and Psychoanalysis*.—In this essay Ferenczi argues that dependence upon a particular philosophic system must prove a handicap to any scientific discipline, particularly to a branch of science like psychoanalysis at a period when it has not yet achieved a systematic account of all the facts that may fall within its realm.

Instead of fusing its scope or its interests with those of some special philosophic doctrine among the many that are recognized now-a-days, psychoanalysis should take special pains to preserve a neutral attitude towards all philosophic doctrines and schools alike. The schools of philosophy yield problems that should be subjected to psychoanalytic research; that must remain, according to Ferenczi, the main relationship between psychoanalysis and philosophy.

Ferenczi passes in review the main concepts of Dr. Putnam's philosophy as given by the latter in a previous issue (see, for abstract, *THE PSYCHOANALYTIC REVIEW*, Vol. I, No. 3), and maintains that psychoanalysis has nothing to gain through becoming philosophical in its outlook. "The further development of psychoanalysis," he states, "must proceed independently of all philosophical systems."

6. *Reply to Dr. Ferenczi*.—Dr. Putnam finds himself misunderstood by Ferenczi in so far as the latter interprets Dr. Putnam's previous contribution as a plea for the welding of psychoanalysis to some particular philosophical doctrine. It is not Dr. Putnam's intention to have psychoanalysis subserve thus the interests of a definite or special school of philosophic thought. On the contrary, he agrees with Dr. Ferenczi that the classification of empirical data and the ascertainment of their relationships must remain the chief object of all psychoanalytic endeavors.

At the same time Dr. Putnam holds that a critical scrutiny of the facts and of their relationships in the broader light of their ultimate or philosophic implications must prove of immense advantage. Not only does such penetrating scrutiny promise important theoretic achievements, but it is bound to increase the practical efficiency of psychoanalysts in their daily tasks as well.

Internationale Zeitschrift für Ärztliche Psychoanalyse

ABSTRACTED BY L. E. EMERSON, PH.D.

BOSTON, MASS.

(II. Jahrgang, 1914. Heft I, January)

1. On False Recollection ("déjà raconté") during Psychoanalysis. SIGMUND FREUD.
2. The Attitude of the Psychoanalytic Therapist to the Actual Conflicts. PROF. ERNEST JONES, London.
3. Some Clinical Observations on Paranoia and Paraphrenia. (A Contribution to the Psychology of "System-Formation.") DR. S. FERENCZI (Budapest).
4. Prof. Dr. Ernst Dürr and his Relation to Psychoanalysis. DR. O. PFISTER, clergyman in Zurich.

1. *On False Recollection ("déjà raconté") during Psychoanalysis*.—Often, during an analysis, the patient remembers and tells something, and says, "but that I have already told you." The doctor, however, may have no memory of it and if he says so the patient is

vehement in his protestations of certainty. Both may be equally certain, but obviously there is no objective value to the feeling of certainty. The doctor may be as mistaken as the patient.

In a number of cases one may finally remember having heard the matter before, but in the majority of cases it is the patient who is mistaken. The explanation of this frequent fact seems to be that the patient had the intention of telling, and had even prepared the way and begun to tell, but was prevented by his resistance and finally misplaced the fact for the intention and remembered it as if accomplished. This material is of the greatest value for the analysis.

Grosset, in 1904, explained the phenomenon "*déjà vu*" as an unconscious perception later brought to consciousness by a similar impression. Freud, without knowing about Grosset's work, gave a similar explanation in the second edition of his "*Psychopathology of Everyday Life*," published in 1907.

Freud gives the case of a patient who said in the course of association: "When I was about five years old playing in a garden with a knife I cut off my little finger,—oh, I only thought that it was cut off—but I have already told you that." Freud denied ever hearing it, and finally the patient went on: "When I was five years old I was playing in the garden, near my nurse, and cut, with my pocket knife, the bark of a nut-tree, which also plays a rôle in my dreams. Suddenly I noticed with unspeakable fright that I had cut the little finger (right or left?) so nearly through that it only hung by the skin. I felt no pain, only a great anxiety. I did not trust myself to say anything to the nurse, who was only a few steps away, sat down on the nearest bank, and remained there unable to look at my finger. Finally, however, I became quiet, looked at my finger and saw that it was quite unharmed."

The reason for the patient's resistance against telling this vision or hallucination was his desire to conceal his "castration complex," which had resulted in an angst attack which he had suffered when fifteen.

Another form of "false recollection" often comes to the therapist at the end of a successful treatment. After all resistances have been overcome the patient says: "I have the feeling now that I always knew it."

2. *The Attitude of the Psychoanalytic Therapist to the Actual Conflicts.*—The attitude of the psychoanalyst to the question of the actual conflicts and difficulties in the life of the patient is not only one of the most important things to consider in the treatment, but is also one of the points in which the psychoanalytic method is distinguished most sharply from other psychotherapeutic methods.

In each analysis one meets different difficulties which the patient must meet in actual life, such as disillusionments, worries, discontentments, cares, problems, dilemmas, etc. These are grouped under the general name "actual conflicts." These conflicts are usually among the first things met in an analysis, for they stand in direct relation to the complaints for which the patient seeks help. The correct solution of these conflicts is another thing, which often only relatively late in the analysis becomes clear.

There are two opposite attitudes which one may take to such conflicts, with all possible gradations in between. The one is, the doctor may concern himself directly with the problems by means of advice, suggestion, etc.; the other (which is psychoanalytic) consists in limiting his efforts to a discovering of the causes of the conflicts, in the conviction that if these are only found the best solution follows smoothly and spontaneously. This method may be called psychoanalytic in contrast to not-psychoanalytic methods of psychotherapy.

The advantage which the psychoanalytic attitude gives needs only slight explanation.

(1) Without an analysis one cannot know for sure just what the solution of the problem may be. Either the patient already knows what he ought to do, but does not know why he is not in a position to do it, or he hasn't any idea as to what attitude he best should take to the problem, i. e., what the best solution of the conflict might be. The doctor cannot tell, either, without an analysis, much less give advice. (2) Even if the doctor reaches the right solution of the conflict and tells it to the patient, it has a quite different effectiveness if the patient comes to that conclusion himself. A purpose imposed from without is fundamentally different from one that springs spontaneously in the soul. The ground for this is, even if the purpose is accurately psychologically symbolical of the deepest wishes of the person, it gets effectiveness only if the affect of these wishes can be transferred to the purpose, hence only if the path of the affect is rather free between the unconscious and the conscious. This is impossible if the purpose is merely imposed from without, as is done in not-psychoanalytic psychotherapy. . . . (3) If the doctor gives a definite solution of a conflict, and gives advice, he increases the dependence of the patient. The whole question can be considered as a part of the problem of the *Übertragung* (transference).

The attempts of the patient to get advice on the actual conflicts, instead of seeking their fundamental causes are principally two sorts: either they are the expression of the well-known resistance to the investigation or they seek to find the physician and patient closer together.

The tendencies of the physician are of a similar nature. Simple advice frees him from undertaking a difficult investigation, and gives him the satisfaction of expressing his omnipotent phantasies, as he takes the omniscient father-image attitude. The influence of the physician, which he must necessarily use in his relation to the patient, should be devoted wholly to overcoming the resistance, to having the unconscious made conscious, to the end that the patient gets the fullest self-knowledge possible.

The author disagrees with Jung in his recent development of psychoanalytic practice. He disagrees with Jung's emphasis of the importance of the "present conflict" and his minimizing the importance of the "wish-phantasies."

In conclusion Jones maintains that in psychoanalysis the actual, as well as the past, conflicts, are to be solved only by an analysis of their unconscious causes, and not by any advice or explanation of life tasks. This, however, is an ideal hard to reach, especially if time does not allow a thoroughgoing analysis. Nevertheless, in this, as in other questions, psychoanalysis does not permit itself any mixture with other psychotherapeutic methods.

3. *Some Clinical Observations on Paranoia and Paraphrenia.*—

One day the sister of a young artist sought the author and told him that her brother, a very gifted young man, had been acting peculiarly for some time. He had read the treatise of a physician on serum treatment for tuberculosis and since then he had been occupied only with himself, having his urine and sputum analyzed for foreign matter, and although nothing was found, insisted on serum treatment by this physician. He soon showed that he had no simple hypochondriacal complaint. Not only the essay, but also the physician made an unusual impression on him. As he treated the young man somewhat harshly he buried himself in his note-book (which the sister gave me to read) in endless grubbing over the question how he could justify the physician. He interwove his hypochondriacal ideas in a greater philosophical system. For a long time he had been interested in Ostwald's philosophy, whose jealous follower he became. The idea of "energy" made an especially deep impression on him, and the strong emphasis of the principle of "economy" also. The proposition that we should use as little energy as possible in bringing anything about, he sought to apply to real life. This became most striking when combined with his hypochondriacal ideas. He noticed paresthesia in different organs, i. e., in his eyes, and remarked that it disappeared when he held his leg up high. Thus he could be undisturbed in his thinking, the most valuable activity he was capable of, he thought. Gradually he came to the conclusion that he ought to

do nothing but think. He ordered the people about to give him absolute quiet for his mental labors. He would lie hours long in certain artificial attitudes. Ferenczi regarded these as a form of catatonia, conceived the pure psychical symptoms as fragments of hypochondriacal and morbid ambitions, diagnosed the case as paranoid paraphrenia (*dementia præcox*), and advised the family to send the young man temporarily to a sanatorium. The family refused to accept the diagnosis and advice.

Soon, however, the sister came again and told the following: the brother sought to have her sleep in his room. This she did. Several times a night he raised his legs high in the air. Then he began to talk to his sister about erotic desires and erections which disturbed him in his work. In the meanwhile he spoke of his father as having treated him too sternly, and for whom till now he had had no love. Now for the first time he revealed in himself, as in the father, their opposing feelings. Suddenly he said it would be against the economy of energy if he should satisfy his erotic needs for money with strange women. It would be more economical if his sister, in the interest of his psychical activities and as a true follower of the "energetic imperative," give herself up to him. After this incident (which the sister kept secret) and after the patient had threatened suicide he was sent to a sanatorium.

The author gives a short history of another case.

A very intelligent young man who, besides the punctual fulfillment of his official duties, wrote rather remarkable poetry, and whose life had been followed by the author for more than fourteen years, was known to suffer from megalomania and delusions of persecution, not sufficiently developed, however, to prevent social relationships. Because of the author's interest in his poetry, the young man used to visit him about once a month, to tell his troubles as to a father-confessor, and go away somewhat relieved. He complained of his comrades and chief. He thought other literary men were banded together to prevent his recognition. In regard to sex he seemed to have no needs. He had once remarked that he had had unaccountable luck with women, that he liked them all without bothering himself much about any one, one had to be on guard against them, etc.

From remarks made from time to time the author got an insight into the deeper layers of his psychic life. He was in poor circumstances, early estranged from a father previously warmly loved. He transferred then (in his phantasy) the father rôle to an uncle, but must have seen soon that he had little to expect from this egotist and withdrew his love, and tried on the one hand, as we have seen, unsuccessfully to find again the lost father-image in his superiors,

and on the other hand, his libido regressed to the narcissistic stage and he delighted in his own peculiar characteristics and accomplishments.

About the twelfth year of the author's acquaintance with the patient he had a breakdown. At about the same time he began to interest himself in psychoanalytic literature. He read the author's paper on the relation between paranoia and homosexuality, and asked him directly if he thought he was homosexual and a paranoiac. At first he made merry over the idea, but finally became convinced and came to the author and said he was deluded in the idea of persecution and that deeply he was homosexual. He remembered different occurrences which confirmed him in his opinion. Now he could explain a noteworthy sensation, half anxious, half libidinous, which he had in the presence of an old patron of his; also he understood why he wanted to get as near the author as possible so he could feel the exhalation of his breath. Now, too, he understood why he had accused his patron of homosexual purposes—it was simply his own thought which was father to the wish.

The author was much pleased at this insight on the part of the patient, especially as he hoped this would have a good therapeutic effect and thus would prove that the possibility of therapy in paranoia was not so bad as had been thought.

A few days later the patient came again. He was still excited, but not so euphoric. He had great anxiety. Unbearable homosexual phantasies kept coming to him. He saw gross phallic symbols which nauseated him. He fancied himself in pederastic situations (also with the author). He was quieted, however, and sent away.

Then nothing was heard of the patient for some days till a member of his family came to the author and told him that the patient had been for some time inaccessible, hallucinated, talked to himself, and the day before had forced himself first into his uncle's house and then into the palace of a wealthy man and created a scandal. Then he went home, lay in his bed and would not speak a word.

The author sought the patient and found him in a deep catatonic stupor (rigid, negativistic, inaccessible, hallucinated). At first he seemed to recognize him, reached out his hand, and then lapsed back into stupor. He remained weeks in this state and then got better. But he had not a complete insight into his illness—he objectified in part his feelings. He denied that he had had a psychosis and believed no more in the relation between his psychical experiences and homosexuality.

The first patient became sick while he was taking over "whole" a fertile philosophical system (Ostwald's). Philosophical systems

which seek to make the whole world rational without any place for individuality are comparable to the delusional formations of paranoiacs. These systems express the need of such patients to rationalize their own irrational conflicting tendencies.

The second case shows how the patient projected his ethically incompatible wishes on his official surroundings. In his desire for a system he happened on the psychoanalytic literature which gave him a true insight into his condition, but it was unbearable and so he took flight into dementia. He came out of his attack in so far as he was able to put away his insight and reconstruct his delusional system of persecution.

In the matter of therapy this corroborates Freud's pessimistic view as to the value of psychoanalytic therapy in paranoia.

The peculiar catatonic attitude of the first patient is explained by the patient himself in his incestuous longings for his sister. If we remember the long known symbolical identification of leg with penis, leg-stretching with erection, we may see in every catatonic stiffening a repressed tendency to an erection.

The author quotes another case, of a patient, who said he got erotic pleasure in his catatonic attitudes and movements. The extreme bending of his body, which he kept up for minutes, served, he said, "to break the erection of his bowels."

4. *Prof. Dr. Ernst Dürr and his Relation to Psychoanalysis.*—In the death of Dr. Dürr psychoanalysis has lost a champion. He had already done great work in philosophy, psychology, and pedagogy, when he overcame an initial resistance and turned to psychoanalysis. The application of psychoanalysis to pedagogy had much to hope for from him: a hope that now must remain unfulfilled.

Like almost everybody else, in the beginning, he was repelled by psychoanalysis. He wrote, "It is to be hoped that the dogmatic declarations of the Freudian School, especially their highly improbable hypotheses as to the sexual life, will be taken most critically."

A friendly reference by Professor Dürr to me of Pfister's studies led to an acquaintance. Then Dürr desired a psychoanalysis made on himself. Only one hour was possible, but it sufficed to prove to him the importance of the analysis, and to Pfister it proved Dürr's high character.

From now on there was a regular correspondence. In the spring of 1913 Pfister undertook some analytical experiments on Dürr. At this time he deplored that he had had to write his principal psychological work without knowing Freud's. As to Freud's theoretical constructions he had no corrections to offer. He said they all flowed from his principal presuppositions. Whether he regarded these as

established Pfister does not know, but he says he is sure that Dürr has deepened and clarified the theory to an extent few psychoanalysts have done. Pfister quotes him as saying: "I am convinced that psychology will undergo a thorough transformation through psychoanalysis."

Like all who busy themselves with analysis he turned to more and more concrete life problems, such as the love of the child for its parents, and its love disturbances, the "Edipus complex," the damming of anger through the commandment, "Honour thy father and mother"; the over-compensation of hate against the father by doubled tenderness; the later rebellion against all authority in church and state, art and science, as in daily life.

Although he speaks with high praise of what psychoanalysis can do to heal the sick soul, he issues a timely warning in saying that "education is different from healing."

Dürr was much indebted to his wife, who translated James' Psychology, and who was a true companion in his scientific progress.

If we follow Dürr's development in psychoanalysis, we find that it takes the course of the probable evolution of psychology. First, absolute denial of psychoanalysis as an improbable hypothesis, founded dogmatically, and contradicting in many points results won by psychology; then a consideration of particular psychoanalytic achievements, with much head-shaking, but still with reflection; then renewed examination, starting from traditional conceptions; and finally, analytical investigations themselves are undertaken, best if the investigator tries to analyze himself.

BOOK REVIEWS

THE MYTH OF THE BIRTH OF THE HERO. A PSYCHOLOGICAL INTERPRETATION OF MYTHOLOGY. By Dr. O. Rank. Translated by Drs. F. Robbins and Smith Ely Jelliffe. Nervous and Mental Disease Monograph Series, No. 18. New York.

This profound study goes far beyond the earlier theories of mythology in that it penetrates into the primary origin of myths and the reasons for the details which prevail in all forms of the same myth. The psychoanalytic insight of the author is shared by the translators, who are thus sympathetically qualified to present this valuable study to English readers.

Taking one series of myths, the myths of the birth of the hero, Rank shows how these have been created from the phantasy of the people in the infancy of the race, a phantasy corresponding to that of the childhood of the individual. It is through the study of the latter, revealed particularly through the Freudian investigations into the psychic life of neurotics, who still dwell in the infantile realm, that the origin of these myths is discovered.

Having recounted a number of these myths, of the birth of Sargon, of Moses, of Kyros, of Jesus and of others, Rank sums up the points of likeness, which form a general plan for all the myths, varying somewhat in individual myths, according as the original phantasy is amplified and extended or brought back in its development toward the actual, original fact.

The key to the understanding of the myth lies in the paranoiac mechanisms of dissociation and projection, which are employed in the elaboration of the myth. The subject matter is that grown familiar through Freud's investigations. The hero is the childish ego. The myth is the individual phantasy become national, the romance is that known as the Family Romance of the Neurotic. There is first the childish exaltation of the parents, then, with enlarging experience, criticism of them with repudiation in favor of exalted parentage. The revolt against the parents seeks its justification in the story of the hero and forms the motive for the myth. A feeling of antagonism, aroused by fancied neglect or perhaps by punishment, is projected upon the father, who in the myth repudiates and exposes the child. The lowly parents as the foster parents preserve the hero until he is fully grown, when he avenges himself and asserts finally

his independence and superiority over his father. Numerous other important details belong to the field of the phantasy, understood through dream symbolism. Exposure in the water signifies birth out of the water, exposure in a box or a basket is a further birth phantasy. Through the paranoid "splitting" of the personality the father is reduplicated as the king, the noble father, the lowly father, even as a god; the mother also plays several rôles, while the child himself appears in other forms, all variations of the original three persons of the drama.

This is only a bare suggestion of the treatment of this myth in all its details and variations in form. A complete study of the monograph will afford a clearer understanding of the myth based on this fundamental phantasy in the normal psychical life of both the individual and the race, and will illuminate further that complex formed of this phantasy, which plays so important a part in neurotic and psychotic disturbances.

L. BRINK.

THE ORIGIN AND NATURE OF THE EMOTIONS. By George W. Crile, M.D., Professor of Surgery, School of Medicine, Western Reserve University, Cleveland. Octavo volume of 240 pages with 76 illustrations. Philadelphia and London, W. B. Saunders Company, 1915. Cloth, \$3.00 net.

A work of great importance to all who are especially interested in the emotions. Psychoanalysis has always placed more weight upon the emotional side of life than upon the intellectual, but its work has been confined to psychological levels. Crile's work is the work of the laboratory investigator with a large clinical experience and is written from the physiological standpoint and expressed in symbols at the physico-chemical level. This work, coupled with certain neurological correlations—thalamic syndrome, etc.—serves to tie up the psychological, the so-called functional, with the organic, the physical, chemical, and neurological, and from this viewpoint is a work in a field that bids fair to become of supreme importance, especially as the work in vegetative neurology goes forward. It is a field of work that the psychoanalyst can not afford to neglect.

A few quotations will show the broad, comprehensive and especially genetic approach of the author to the problem of the emotions and serve at the same time to give a fair idea of what the reader may expect to find in the work.

"With this conception, the human body may be likened to a musical instrument—an organ—the keyboard of which is composed of the various receptors, upon which environment plays the many tunes

of life; and written within ourselves in symbolic language is the history of our evolution. The skin may be the 'Rosetta Stone' which furnishes the key."

"... man is a unified mechanism responding in every part to the adequate stimuli given it from without by the environment of the present and from within by the environment of the past. . . ."

"It (psychology) becomes a science of man's activities as determined by the environmental stimuli of his phylogeny and of his ontogeny."

The author constantly restates the evolution standpoint from which he views the organism. Animals, in order to become adapted to their environment, have become transformers of energy. The organs principally engaged in the transformation of potential energy into heat and motion constitute the "kinetic system" and are, in the main, the brain, the adrenals, the thyroid, the muscles, and the liver. The author goes on to say:

"By both the positive and the negative evidence we are forced to believe that the emotions are primitive instinctive reactions which represent ancestral acts; and that they therefore utilize the complicated motor mechanism which has been developed by the forces of evolution as that best adapted to fit the individual for his struggle with his environment or for procreation.

"The mechanism by which the motor acts are performed and the mechanism by which the emotions are expressed are one and the same. These acts in their infinite complexity are suggested by association—phylogenetic association. When our progenitors came in contact with any exciting element in their environment, action ensued then and there. There was much action—little restraint or emotion. Civilized man is really in auto-captivity. He is subject to innumerable stimulations, but custom and conventions frequently prevent physical action. When these stimulations are sufficiently strong, but no action ensues, the reaction constitutes an emotion. A phylogenetic fight is anger; a phylogenetic flight is fear; a phylogenetic copulation is sexual love, and so one finds in this conception an underlying principle which may be the key to an understanding of the emotions and of certain diseases."

WHITE.

PSYCHOLOGY AND PARENTHOOD. By H. Addington Bruce. New York, Dodd, Mead & Company, 1915. Pp. 293. Price, \$1.25 net.

In this book Mr. Bruce has made an effort to appeal to parents on behalf of a more intelligent effort in the bringing up of children, particularly upon the mental side. He has discussed in a simple, easily

understandable way such questions as the relation of heredity and environment, the element of suggestion in education, the problem of laziness, hysteria in childhood, the menace of fear, and other pertinent issues. The scientific man might easily find much that he could disagree with in Mr. Bruce's presentation. The psychoanalyst, for example, could very easily say that his examples are very superficial and do not touch the real explanations, but after all such criticisms would be beside the point.

This book is one in a large mass of literature which is being poured from the press these days on various aspects of applied psychology. The human animal has at last awakened both to the importance and to the absorbing interest of his psyche. The author of this work has for a considerable time been identified with this movement. He has published a number of articles and some previous books dealing with its various aspects. It is an extremely fortunate thing that popular literature should attract such writers who are able to put rather difficult matters into very simple language and make them as entertaining and readable as does Mr. Bruce. There is no doubt but that the layman in reading this work, while he might not get very profound scientific learning therefrom, would at least have his interest deeply stirred in practical psychology and would also get some vague glimmer at least of that great truth which so few, even medical men, seem to have seen at all as yet, namely, that there is meaning in psychic phenomena and that because a thing seems on the surface to be foolish that that is no reason it really is so.

WHITE.

VARIA

CEREMONIAL CONSUMMATION.—Were we some day to develop a sense of the continuity of time, certain of our present day attitudes to time would become difficult to understand. The key to a not unimportant part of ceremonialism would be lost. I refer to crisis or epochal ceremonialism and what we may call rites of consummation.

Underlying initiation, marriage, and funeral ceremonies is the theory that the changes of life can be met at a set, assigned time, dra-gooned as it were into given periods, and this theory is tenable because the continuity of time is ignored. Dividing it seems entirely practicable.

Although this arbitrariness about time enables one to dodge change as it occurs, it does not make the facing of change less inevitable. It only allows that confrontation to be put off. Such procrastination, change met out of relation to time, calls for a celebration, results in ceremonialism. Given ceremonial, the change seems man made, not time made, not an outcome of nature. Without the ceremony the change, it is believed, would not have occurred, or at least would not have been valid. Fulfillment, consummation, is a question not of time, but of ceremonial.

Among us in certain circles this point of view has already been challenged—graduation does not mean the end of education, education goes on we say through life; nor does marriage end the story, the pair living happily ever after; we do not forget the dead after we have finished mourning them. But the very need of all these assertions is an evidence of the existence of the aforesaid point of view.

Its existence among peoples of an early culture is plain enough in their ordinary epochal ceremonial. Through initiation, a boy or girl is *made* a man or woman. Adolescence is achieved by way of ceremony. The sexual life is also established ceremonially—through ceremonial defloration, formal courtship, wedding rites. Death as a passage from one life to another is facilitated by ceremonial or dependent on it. Without the proper funeral rites a soul goes astray, a lost ghost.

But it is in certain extraordinary aspects of primitive ceremonialism that the relation between it and the primitive sense of fulfillment shows most plainly. It sometimes happens in savage communities that a lad is not initiated with his contemporaries. His initiation is deferred, perhaps it never takes place. In this unsettled state a man

is regarded as a child, excluded from adult male society, and associated with women and children. Often he may not marry. His development is arrested. Again when death cuts life short, as we say, the practice has arisen among certain peoples of marrying off the dead. One who would have been an appropriate spouse for the child dead before his or her time is married to him or her in the funeral service to play thereafter the part of widower or widow. Another striking and more common instance of the desire for ceremonial consummation in early culture is its characteristic insistence upon putting through the funeral ceremonies even if they have to be postponed for long periods—perhaps the deceased has died in a far country, for some reason or other his remains are not at once at hand.

To sum up, epochal ceremonial and particularly its variations, deferred death and initiation rites and the marriage of the dead, indicate an obliviousness of the continuity of time, and the idea of change as divorced from time. Through this detachment is realized the desire to avoid change until, become inevitable, it may be encountered once for all, through ceremonial, the ceremonial imparting the assurance and comfort of getting it through with, the sense of consummation.

Here, with the observation of these facts, I stop, leaving to others, more ambitious and more confident, their interpretation. Will they tell us that, possessed by the libido of omnipotence, child and savage do not subject themselves to control by time, fixing change, like the gods of their imagination, at pleasure? That from the psychoanalytic point of view epochal ceremonialism is an expression of the group's search for power, and the sense of consummation the satisfaction of this libido?

ELSIE CLEWS PARSONS.

"One of the great barriers to human understanding is the wide temperamental difference one finds in the values of things relating to sex. It is the issue upon which people most need training in charity and imaginative sympathy. Here are no universal standards at all, and indeed for no single man or woman does there seem to be any fixed standard, so much do the accidents of circumstances and one's physical phases affect one's interpretations.

There is nothing in the whole range of sexual fact that may not seem supremely beautiful or humanly jolly or magnificently wicked or disgusting or trivial or utterly insignificant, according to the eye that sees or the mood that colors. Here is something that may fill the skies and every waking hour or be almost completely banished from a life. It may be everything on Monday and less than nothing on Saturday. And we make our laws and rules as though in these

matters all men and women were commensurable one with another, with an equal steadfast passion and equal constant duty. . . ."

H. G. WELLS, *The New Machiavelli*, Book the Second, Chapter Two.

DREAMS.—Protagoras: Do you not remember the saying of Heraclitus: "For the waking there is one common world, but of those asleep each one turns aside to his own privacy"? And do you suppose that if we acted on our dreams, we could with impunity do what we dream? Is it not merely because we lie still, and do not stir, that we can indulge our fancies? Protagoras the Humanist, Papyri of Philonous, 370 B. C. From F. C. S. Schiller, *Studies in Humanism*.

Notice.—All manuscript should be sent to Dr. William A. White, Government Hospital for the Insane, Washington, D. C.

All business communications should be addressed to The Psycho-analytic Review, 64 West 56th Street, New York, N. Y.